The African Communist

NO 50 THIRD QUARTER 1972

SOUTH AFRICA: TRADE UNIONS AND RACISM

BACKGROUND ON NAMIBIA

YUSUF DADOO ON GEORGI DIMITROV

SEKOU TOURE'S GUINEA by ESKOR TOYO

LESOTHO: COMMUNIST PARTY STATEMENT

NOTES AND COMMENTS ON: ZAIRE SUDAN

ZAMBIA UGANDA CABORA BOSSA

INKULULEKO PUBLICATIONS

Distributors of *The African Communist*

PRICE AND SUBSCRIPTION

AFRICA	*1 shilling (5p) per copy* *4s. (20p) per year post free* *Airmail £1.50 per year*
EUROPE	*15p per copy* *60p per year post free*
N.AMERICA	*50 cents per copy* *$ 2.00 per year post free* *Airmail $ 5.50 per year*

INKULULEKO PUBLICATIONS, 39 Goodge Street, London, W.1.

THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

Published quarterly in the interests of African solidarity, and as a forum for Marxist-Leninist thought throughout our Continent, by the South African Communist Party

No. 50 Third Quarter 1972

CONTENTS

5 **EDITORIAL NOTES**
Invincible Vietnam; Kwame Nkrumah of Africa; Justice in South Africa; In the Universities; Fidel in Africa; In Brief – 'Kwete!' – D.N. Pritt – Tenth Birthdays (FRELIMO and the C.P. of Lesotho) – Our Fiftieth Issue.

18 **IN LESOTHO TODAY**
Tenth Anniversary Statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lesotho.

J. Villiers

23 **NAMIBIA AND THE WORLD**
How, step by step South Africa was allowed to colonise and take over former German South West Africa, from the time of the League of Nations Mandate onwards, is documented in this factual survey.

R.E. Braverman

38 **APARTHEID, INDUSTRIALISATION AND THE TRADE UNIONS**
The myth that industrialisation will mitigate or eliminate racialism and apartheid is being promoted with new vigour by the Vorster Government and its imperialist backers abroad. This article exposes both the falsity of the argument and the real attitude of the white-dominated 'registered' trade union movement.

Yusuf Dadoo

54 **TRIBUTE TO DIMITROV**
The Bulgarian people and the international working-class movement are commemorating the ninetieth anniversary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov, outstanding leader of the Communist International and hero of the Reichstag Fire Trial. Dr Dadoo, who met Dimitrov personally in 1948, writes about some of his memorable contributions to the world and South African liberation movements.

Eskor Toyo

63 **GUINEA FIGHTS FOR INDEPENDENCE**

The writer, a well-known Guinean economist, surveys the policy of Sekou Toure and his government against the factual background of Guinea's economy and resources, in this illuminating survey reprinted from Tricontinental *(Havana).*

A. Bakaya

82 **WORLD CAPITALISM, GOLD AND SOUTH AFRICA**

R. Palme Dutt's article on the world capitalist crisis (The African Communist No. 48) has prompted a reader to submit this interesting note relating the monetary base of gold to the South African economy.

P. Malinga

88 **AFRICA: NOTES AND COMMENTS**

Mobutu's 'Authenticity' Campaign; Sudan: The Terror Continues; Zambia: The Great Debate; Uganda: Marching Orders for Israelis; West Germany Imperialism and Cabora Bossa.

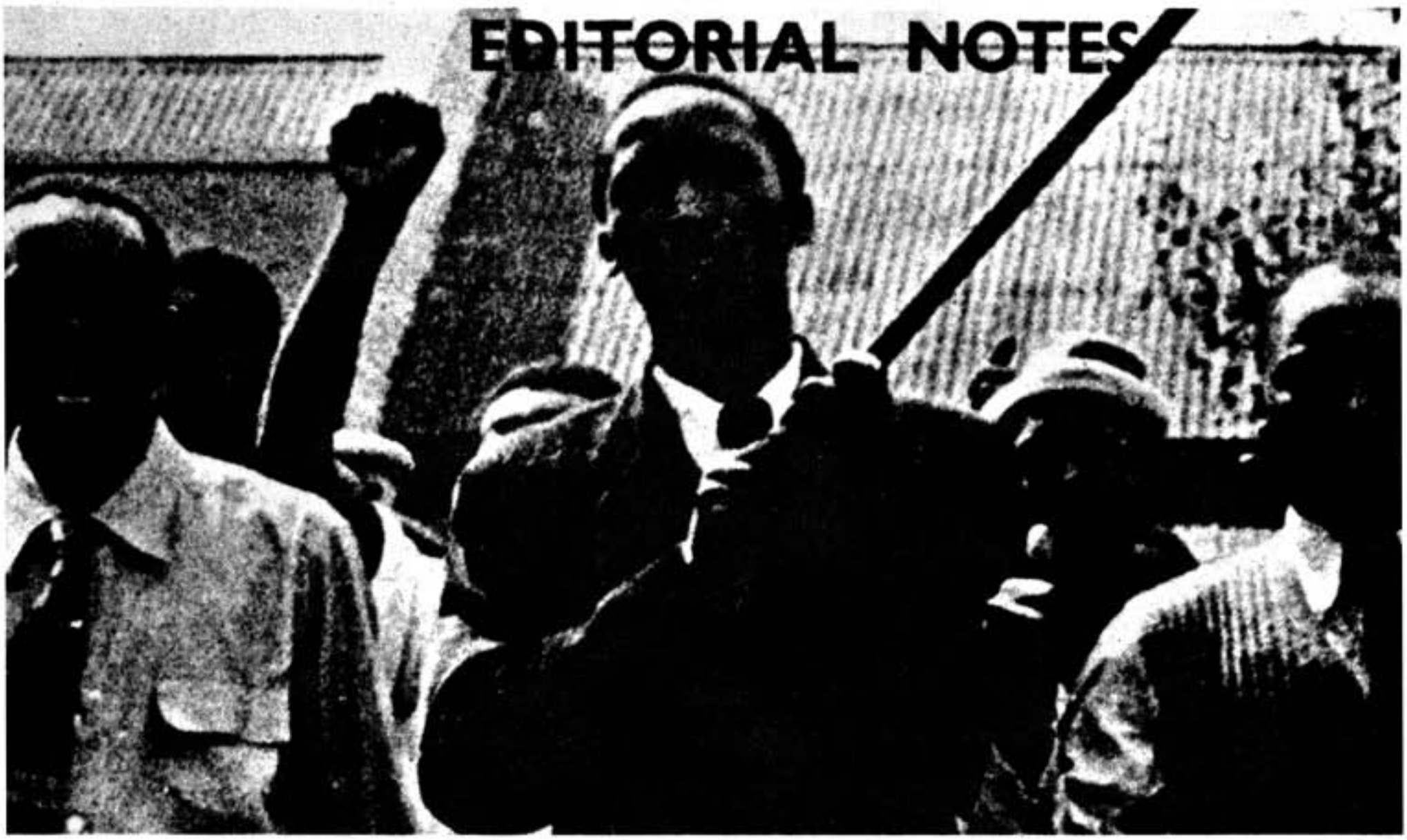
98 **BOOK REVIEWS**

Modernising Racial Discrimination: The Dynamics of South African Politics by Heribert Adam; If They Come in the Morning by Angela Davis; Apartheid: A Collection of Writings on South African Racism by South Africans, edited by Alex La Guma; The Military Art of People's War: Selected Writings of General Vo Nguyen Giap, edited by Russel Stetler; Following Lenin's Course by L.I. Brezhnev; Le Cameroun: Essai D'Analyse Economique et Politique by David Kom

110 **DOCUMENTS**

Stand by Namibia (illegal SACP journal); S.A. and Nazi Germany; Half a Century of Undaunted Struggle

120 **LETTERS TO THE EDITOR**



Invincible Vietnam

As we are writing these lines (in mid-May) the United States is entering what we are convinced are the final stages of its unspeakable but hopeless campaign to subjugate Indo-China. Taking revenge in advance for what, in their saner moments, they cannot but perceive to be their inevitable defeat, Nixon and the Pentagon have unleashed a campaign of unheard-of frightfulness and lawless piracy in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. It is as if they are determined that when they quit they will leave behind them a desolate wasteland, the vegetation destroyed by their diabolical chemicals, the survivors ravaged by pestilence and famine.

In a further attempt to deprive the people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam of food and supplies their mining of the ports on the eve of Nixon's Moscow visit can only be described as a deliberate act of international provocation. It is a tribute to the steadiness of nerve and sense of responsibility of the Soviet leaders that they nevertheless held to their long-term purpose of compelling the imperialist leaders to negotiate major issues around the conference table, while at the same time reiterating in word and deed their solidarity with fighting Vietnam.

It was the strength, not the weakness, of the socialist community of nations which brought Nixon and his entourage to negotiate; it is the same strength which will determine and guarantee the validity of whatever agreements emerge. An immeasurably important ingredient of that strength is just the unconquerable spirit of socialist man exemplified by the working people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and their allies in neighbouring territories. That is what has defeated in our times the uttermost efforts of two mighty imperialist powers, France and the U.S.A. That is what is destroying the pipe-dream of 'Vietnamisation', driving the puppet forces from one southern stronghold after another, and ensuring the victory of liberation and peaceful reunification. That is what, tomorrow, together with the brotherly aid of the socialist countries and all progressive mankind, will enable the Indochinese people to rebuild what has been destroyed and eradicate the ugly scars left by the passing of the fascist beast.

The sincerest tribute we of unfree Africa can pay to our brothers and sisters in Vietnam is to follow their glorious example and to cultivate the same dauntless spirit among ourselves.

KWAME NKRUMAH OF AFRICA

On 28 April Africa lost one of her foremost sons, Kwame Nkrumah, who died after six years of exile from his native Ghana. It is much to be hoped that his unique contribution to the independence and advancement of Ghana will now receive due acknowledgment in his own motherland.

From his return to Ghana in 1947 as general secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention to his release from prison in 1951 as head of the Convention People's Party to take over the post of Leader of Government Business, subsequently Prime Minister, Dr Nkrumah mobilised the sound forces of the country and gave direction and perspective to the militant movements of ex-servicemen, workers and youth which opened the road to independence. His challenge to the old-line reformist and temporising leadership expressed in the slogans of 'independence now' and 'positive action' was effective. Independence (6 March 1957) coming on the eve of the great wave of African political emancipation from direct foreign rule placed Ghana automatically in the vanguard of Africa's forward march.

It was not only the chance of timing however which placed Ghana in the forefront of the African Revolution. Kwame Nkrumah reiterated time and again that the emancipation of Ghana was only meaningful in the overall context of African freedom and unity. His militant call for united struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, his powerful advocacy of a common front for the complete uprooting of imperialist survivals and white supremacy regimes throughout our continent, made him the pace-setter in the formation of the Organisation of African Unity in 1953, in the making of its founding Charter and earlier revolutionary policies.

It was for these things that the imperialists hated Nkrumah, that they reviled and maligned him, conspired time and again among themselves and with the unpatriotic forces of

internal reaction until at last they succeeded in the coup of 1966 when he was away from the country.

Their vindictiveness even followed him into his grave. The capitalist mass media in the 'West' could have no good word to say about Nkrumah after his death. They vied with one another to belittle a man over whose departure they could scarcely conceal their rejoicing.

In exactly the same way, but a few weeks before, they had celebrated the assassination of President Karume of Zanzibar, magnifying his shortcomings while overlooking all the accomplishments in ending the British-protected regime of tyranny and privilege on the island, nourished of old in the slave-market; in raising the status and dignity of the African majority; and uniting Zanzibar with its kinsfolk of the Tanganyika mainland.

We of *The African Communist* had our comradely criticisms of some of the theories and actions of the late Kwame Nkrumah which we did not hesitate to express while he was still President of Ghana. No doubt serious African, and especially Ghanaian revolutionaries, will draw in future profound lessons from both his achievements and his failures.

But there can be no doubt that the broad main road of socialism and African unity for which Nkrumah fought with such ability and conviction is the only way to a free, happy and independent future for our people. It is for that that Africa will ever honour his memory.

JUSTICE IN SOUTH AFRICA

The acquittal of the accused in a number of political trials in South Africa earlier this year has evoked from some of them, and from the bourgeois press throughout the world, expressions of admiration for the independent spirit displayed by the South African judiciary.

The most publicised of these cases were:

1. The acquittal by the Appeal Court of the Dean of Johannesburg who had been sentenced in the Supreme Court to five years' imprisonment for alleged offences under the Terrorism Act.

2. The acquittal by the Supreme Court of British photographer Quentin Jacobsen on one charge under the Terrorism Act and two alternative charges under the Suppression of Communism Act.

3. The acquittal by the Appeal Court of Mrs Winnie Mandela who faced imprisonment for periods totalling 18 months on charges under the Suppression of Communism Act of receiving visitors in her home in defiance of her house arrest order.

Nobody dispassionately viewing the South African scene can suffer from the delusion that the bench is independent of the executive and in any meaningful sense a bastion of civil liberty. No doubt some judges are more fair-minded than others, but the fact remains that, apart from a couple of good boys who are allowed to act for their masters in one or two minor courts in the Transkei, all the judges and magistrates are White, and all are nominees of the Government. The bench duly fulfils its function as an instrument of the ruling class. If it steps out of line, the Government introduces new legislation to nullify an unwelcome court decision, or – as in the famous Coloured vote case in the fifties – appoints new judges to the Appeal Court to ensure that its wishes are carried out.

What the acquittals undoubtedly reveal is, not the virtues of the judges, but the vices of the Security Police, who today wield the real power in South Africa. The Dean of Johannesburg may have been acquitted, but the price of his acquittal was not merely the R40,000 legal costs, but his destruction as an anti-apartheid activist, and the intimidation of the whole Anglican Church and any other church or

churchman who might be thinking of practical ways of implementing the Sermon on the Mount in South Africa.

Jacobsen's acquittal must be seen against the background of the whole massive security operation conducted by the police in October 1971 which, according to the Minister of Police, 'stopped a powder keg from exploding'. Hundreds of homes were raided at that time, and 47 people were known to have been detained under the Terrorism Act. The real total of detainees may have been much higher because the Government and the police have refused to disclose the numbers of detained people ever since the Act was passed in 1967. Of the 47 detainees, one, Ahmed Timol, died as a result of a fall from the 10th floor of Security Police headquarters in Johannesburg; another, Mohammed Essop, was brutally assaulted by the Security Police and so badly injured that at one stage his life was despaired of. At the time of writing he still faces trial, together with two others, on unspecified charges under the Terrorism Act. Three other detainees who were being charged under the Suppression of Communism Act jumped bail of R500 each and fled to Botswana. The mere fact that they were allowed bail is sufficient testimony of the triviality of their alleged offence. One other detainee was fined for possessing banned literature.

The remaining 39 detainees were released without ever being asked to face a charge in court. Death, injury and distress are handed out by the Security Police – even the Dean was held in solitary confinement for 8 days, with the result that for the first time in his life he had to receive psychiatric treatment. And what has happened to the 'powder keg'?

In the sense that the Minister's statement implied, there never was a powder keg. The essence of the matter is that to retain power and justify terror the Vorster Government has to create a continuous atmosphere of crisis.

The unceasing persecution of Mrs Winnie Mandela is an example of the lengths to which the police are prepared to go to destroy anybody who opposes the government in any way. She has once again won acquittal in a court action; yet, despite the fact that repeated police attempts to 'get her' have failed because she has committed no offence, she has been made to suffer hundreds of days of imprisonment under the Terrorism Act, plus unending bans, house arrest and perpetual harassment. The Vorster Government has to rely more and more on naked terror to ensure its survival.

There was a time when the terror in South Africa was directed almost exclusively at the Communist Party, the Congress Movement and those engaged in militant extra-parliamentary political campaigns against apartheid. We Communists warned at the time the Suppression of Communism Act was passed that anti-Communism was merely a smokescreen behind which the Nationalist Government would mount an assault against the civil liberties of the whole population, Black and White. The events of the past two decades have shown how the area of attack has inevitably widened. Today it is no longer only the Communists, but also all those who are alleged to 'pave the way' for Communism who are attacked – the churches, the 'liberalists', the English press, the universities.

IN THE UNIVERSITIES

On 2 May 1972, the Principal of the University of the Witwatersrand, Dr G.R. Bozzoli, complained that the Security Police were paying 'continual attention' to Wits students and staff. Many students, he said, feared action would be taken against them if they took office on the Students' Representative Council, while staff members had excluded controversial material from their lectures.

But if students in the White English-medium universities, coming from the privileged, enfranchised and better-off sections of the population, can complain of police spying and victimisation, just think of the position of the Black students in those prison-like apartheid institutions created by the Nationalist government as a substitute for higher education.

Barely a week after Bozzoli's complaint, Mr Abraham Tiro, President of the Students' Representative Council at the all-African, 'University of the North' at Turfloop, criticised the all-White administration of the institution, in the course of his speech at the graduation ceremony in which he received his B.A.

He was summarily expelled.

The 1,146 students at Turfloop went on an eight-hour sit-in protest against this expulsion.

All of them were thereupon summarily expelled themselves.

Abraham Tiro's speech cited an assurance by Vorster that no black man would get into trouble for fighting for his legal due. He continued:

> Although I do not know how true this is, I make this statement my launching pad. We want a system of education common to all South Africans.
>
> The challenge to every black graduate in this country lies in the fact that the guilt of all wrongful actions in South Africa – restriction without trial, the repugnant legislation, expulsions from schools – rests on all those who do not actively dissociate themselves from the system breeding such evils and work for the eradication of it.
>
> We black graduates, by virtue of our age and academic standing, are being called upon to greater responsibilities in the liberation of our people. Our so-called leaders are crushing us as a nation.
>
> Of what purpose is your education if you cannot help your people in their hour of need? If your education is not linked with the entire continent of Africa it is meaningless.

In his speech, Mr Tiro quoted the words of the sole Progressive Party MP, Mrs Helen Suzman, when she said in Parliament: 'There is one thing which the Minister cannot do, he cannot ban ideas from men's minds.'

His own speech, reflecting the steady and impressive upsurge of militant consciousness among the black population, indicates the truth of those words. But the savage action against the Turfloop students – unprecedented, we think, in any country but South Africa – shows that the Vorster government is determined to go on trying to 'ban ideas from men's minds'.

So doing it is hastening its own downfall; for people are bound to conclude that if speeches or protests are regarded as acts of rebellion there is nothing to be lost by undertaking the real thing.

FIDEL IN AFRICA

During May, Major Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of revolutionary Cuba, paid extended visits to Guinea and Algeria, and also a brief, unscheduled journey to Sierra Leone. Accompanied by Sekou Toure, Harari Boumedienne, Siaka Stevens, and other leaders he received a tumultuous welcome from vast crowds wherever he went.

There is no doubt that this enthusiasm truly reflected the feelings of our people, their understanding that in Cuba, pioneer of true national liberation and socialism in America we Africans have a faithful brother and comrade-in-arms.

> All the fatalistic theories about the invincible power of the imperialists have been shattered by the determination of the peoples. This is demonstrated by Guinea in Africa and Cuba in Latin America, countries that have victoriously resisted the constant attacks of imperialism. And it is being demonstrated every day by Vietnam, which strikes crushing blows at the most powerful aggressive machinery ever known to humanity. The era of the international

gendarmes is coming to a close. Now we are living in the era of the peoples.

This passage from the joint Toure-Castro communique of 8 May at Conakry keynotes the message and the spirit of the Cuban leader's tour in our continent. It was fitting that the same communique expressed the solidarity of Cuba and Guinea with the liberation movements of Africa and specifically condemned 'the regimes of the white racist minorities in the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia that carry out a policy of apartheid . . . with the support of NATO member states,' and specifically 'the repression to which the racists of South Africa subject the people of Namibia'.

IN BRIEF

'KWETE!'

'We are satisfied after considering all our evidence that the majority of Africans rejected the proposals.' Thus Lord Pearce, at the end

of a 50,000-word report covering the two-month tour by himself and his fellow-commissioners of Zimbabwe, at no inconsiderable inconvenience to themselves and expense to the British taxpayers. They might have spared themselves the trouble. Ordinary commonsense – to say nothing of the publicly-expressed views of this and many other publications – should have told them that the Home-Smith deal was utterly repugnant and that no sane people would voluntarily consent to bind themselves and their descendants to a status of inferiority and servitude in their motherland. 'Ball now in Rhodesia's court', announced a London *Times* headline (25 May) extending this exhausted metaphor beyond what one could have thought its last possible endurance. But surely the whole lesson of the latest fiasco is that no viable constitution for the people of this unhappy country is going to be written by two white bwanas, on the tennis-court or anywhere else. The people of Zimbabwe are going to write their own constitution, if need be (as were most constitutions) in blood.

■

D.N. PRITT A bonny fighter has gone to his rest. D.N. Pritt, Q.C., for many years graced the front benches of the British Labour opposition and if talent were the main qualification would certainly have been a leading member of any Labour Cabinet. But his tireless opposition to imperialism, no less than his staunch advocacy of peace and friendship with the Soviet Union, did not endear him to the anti-socialists who dominate the Labour Party, and who in the end drove him from its ranks. His brilliant courtroom defences of Jomo Kenyatta and other leaders arraigned by British colonialism endeared him to Africa. It was during this case that he found an opportunity to visit Johannesburg, where he established a close friendship with, among others, Bram Fischer. He wrote for

this journal (No. 27, 1966) an appreciation of the latter's speech from the dock, in which he said: 'Bram Fischer, whom it is my privilege to know and to reverence, is one of the truly great political lawyers in history'. The same, with equal justice, may be said of D.N. Pritt himself.

■

TENTH BIRTHDAYS

25 June is the tenth anniversary of FRELIMO; the Mozambique Liberation Front. In those ten short years despite the assassination by the enemy of their inspired leader and founder, Eduardo Mondlane, FRELIMO has gone from strength to strength. Its brave guerrillas have liberated substantial areas of the motherland from the fascist occupying power, Portugal, and continue to strike heavy blows to free the whole of Mozambique. Congratulating FRELIMO we assure its members and leaders of our continued support and co-operation in the common task of winning freedom throughout Southern Africa from colonialism and white supremacy. Our enemy is the same: we shall win!

The tenth anniversary of our sister Marxist-Leninist Party of Southern Africa, the Communist Party of Lesotho, is marked by an important statement by its Central Committee published in this issue of *The African Communist*. Since the illegal coup of Leabua Jonathan this Party has sustained severe persecution; the statement serves notice that the experience has not broken the spirit nor the organisation of our Basotho comrades.

■

OUR FIFTIETH ISSUE

This issue is the fiftieth of our journal to appear since our first number produced in underground conditions in October 1959. During this period, *The African Communist* has grown steadily in circulation and influence throughout Africa and

for that matter in many other parts of the world. There are few countries today where we do not have our readers and supporters. To all of these – especially those who undergo risks of persecution for merely receiving and distributing our journal – we take the opportunity to express our sincere thanks, and also our assurance that we shall spare no effort to extend and improve our journal in the years ahead.

ANGELA IS FREE!

The news of Angela Davis's acquittal on all charges reached us when this issue of The African Communist was already in the press.

For the first time we decided to 'stop the press' in order to express our heartfelt congratulations to Comrade Angela, to the Communist Party of the United States and to all the millions all over the world who backed the call to Free Angela Davis.

She was saved not by U.S. bourgeois 'justice' but by the love and support of those millions, so ably organised and mobilised by her comrades, and inspired by her own courage and steadfastness.

It is a mighty victory for all oppressed people everywhere. Let the brilliant campaign of our American comrades inspire us to redouble and renew our efforts to win the release of Nelson Mandela and all the sons and daughters of South Africa imprisoned for fighting apartheid.

Free Nelson Mandela!

5 June 1972

In Lesotho Today

Tenth Anniversary Statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lesotho

Ten years ago on May 5, 1962 the Communist Party of Lesotho was born as a party of the working class of Lesotho and a detachment of the International Communist Movement.

The party was founded in the aftermath of great changes in Africa and the world. The movement against colonialism for freedom and independence which had reached a climax in Africa Year 1960, was still in full swing. The working class in the developed capitalist countries was waging bitter struggles for progress and a better life. Above all the World Socialist System, the chief creation of the working class movement, was growing in strength and had become the decisive factor determining the main current of events in our time.

The Statement by 81 Communist and Workers Parties meeting in Moscow in November, 1960 had analysed the situation confronting the peoples of the world and defined the main characteristics of the epoch. The three main components of the world revolutionary process were described as the World Socialist System, the struggle for a better life of the workers in the developed capitalist countries and the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples of the world.

At the outset the Communist Party of Lesotho, which then operated in a British Colony, had raised the demand for independence. The first programme adopted by the Party stated that the independence of Lesotho was essential if further progress was to be made. The party

considered that the aim of the party should be to build a united front of all patriotic and progressive forces to fight for the achievement of independence. The Party's immediate objective was to create an independent state of National Democracy as a step on the road to a Socialist Lesotho.

Because of the dire economic situation in Lesotho after ninety years of British rule, and the fact that the country was an enclave wholly surrounded by the territory of racist South Africa, many people even among progressive sections were sceptical of the demand for independence. In fact the main national movement in the country embarked on a vicious campaign against the Communist Party for raising this demand.

But the growing militancy of the people which had been exemplified in the general strike of March 1961 in Maseru – the capital of Lesotho – forced the whole country to take up the cry of independence. The Party at that stage warned the nation that independence for Lesotho could not be consolidated unless there was a strong alliance and unity with progressive forces in South Africa, Africa and the world.

Whilst vigorously maintaining its right to put forward the independent class demands of the working class the CPL also consistently fought for unity of all the progressive forces in Lesotho. The party waged an ideological struggle against the reactionary clerical forces of the powerful Catholic Church of Lesotho who were doing everything to hamper the struggle for independence by raising the banner of anti-communism.

By 1965 the pre-independence elections were held in Lesotho. Unfortunately the Congress Party, the Marematlou Freedom Party and the CPL did not present a united front at the elections. Thus although they received 56 per cent of the votes they won only 29 seats out of 60 in the national assembly. The National Party with the support of the Catholic Church and of South Africa had received 41 per cent of the votes cast but won 31 seats. The reactionary Chief Leabua Jonathan became Prime Minister and Lesotho entered a dark period in its history. The British imperialists were swift to concede independence now that the National Party had come to power.

Many people even within the young CPL were dumbfounded at the results of the election and as a reaction cast doubt on the policy of the united front. They put forward an ultra-left go-it-alone policy for the Communist Party. The logic of the policy was the absurd conclusion

that the reactionary National Party was better than such 'royalist' parties as the Marematlou Freedom Party which supported the King and opposed Apartheid and domination by South Africa. The inner-party conflict was resolved at the third Congress of the CPL which re-affirmed the policy of a front of progressive parties against the policies of Leabua Jonathan. Life has amply borne out the correctness of the stand taken by the healthy elements in the CPL.

The five years from 1965 to 1970 saw the entry of South African officials into Lesotho to supervise all aspects of life. British and South African firms were encouraged to exploit the mineral resources of Lesotho. The people were driven out of the diamond fields in Mokhotlong and the international Rio Tinto Zinc company was brought in. Anton Rupert the South African head of the Rembrandt Tobacco Co. (the largest in the world) became economic advisor to the Lesotho government. The government of Lesotho became the chief apologist of South African policies in international forums. In all aspects of the economy which benefit people Lesotho stagnated and made no progress whatsoever, The country continued to be a big exporter of labour to the mines and industries of South Africa and no effort was made to find employment for Basotho inside their own country.

In 1970 the National Party full of confidence once again called for a general election. Members of the ruling party and their supporters in South Africa were freely predicting the victory of the National Party and the elimination of the opposition. To the utter consternation of the reactionaries they lost the elections. As the results continued to pour in Chief Leabua Jonathan declared a state of emergency and announced the discovery of a 'plot' by the Communist Party to overthrow the government. The CPL was declared illegal and thousands of people were arrested including many Communists. The constitution which the National Party itself had drawn up, was annulled. In the conflicts which followed the Police, led by a British officer called Roach, killed many innocent people. The King of Lesotho was banished to Holland. South Africa had played a major role in the organisation of the coup which would never have succeeded otherwise.

The CPL was convinced that the people of Lesotho would never tamely submit to the dictates of the Leabua Jonathan group. The literature of the Communist Party was burnt in huge bonfires organised by the authorities. These absurd antics did not deter the Party which

did not accept the ban but continued its work underground in spite of all the difficulties of operating in a small country with a population of only one million.

To counter its almost total isolation from the people the National Party has now embarked on a policy of so-called 'reconciliation'. The detainees have all been released. A flood of demagogy has been let loose to convince the people that the government is anti-Apartheid and is for freedom in South Africa. The King was returned from banishment. The notorious British Commissioner of Police has been dismissed and sent back to his country. The State of Emergency, however, still remains in force and constitutional liberties remain annulled.

The CPL as a party of a new type will continue to fulfil its obligations to the people of Lesotho and to the international working class and progressive movement. True to its international character the party has consistently upheld the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Despite the incredible difficulties of travel from a Lesotho surrounded by South Africa, the CPL has participated in the preparations for and attended the Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties held in Moscow in June 1969. The CPL has held high the banner of Proletarian internationalism and taught the people of Lesotho love for the Socialist Motherland – the Soviet Union and all the other socialist countries.

Like the rest of the International Communist Movement the CPL experienced the ravages caused by the Chinese who interfered in the affairs of Lesotho and were responsible for much confusion and disunity. The activities of the Mao Tse-tung group caused much harm to the progressive cause in Lesotho. The CPL is not surprised that the ultra-revolutionary slogans of the Chinese have led inevitably to rapprochment with the United States imperialists.

Throughout the first ten years of its life the CPL has always been able to count on the unstinted support of the Soviet Union, in the first place, and all the other socialist countries. Although our country is insignificant in world strategic terms the Soviet Comrades have been consistent in their assistance to all our people.

Both friend and foe in Lesotho are fully aware of the close ties between the CPL and the CPSU. This friendship has sustained party comrades and all progressives during the privations suffered since the coup d'etat in 1970.

Ten years in the life of a party and of a people is a very brief period. But already it can be said that the CPL has struck roots and is producing battle-steeled cadres who will resolutely continue the fight for national-democracy and Socialism in Lesotho.

THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST 1970: CLOTHBOUND VOLUMES
£3.50

AFRICAN COMMUNISTS SPEAK: A COLLECTION OF ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS FROM THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST: 1959-1969
90p

AFRICA: NATIONAL AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION: PAPERS FROM THE 1966 CAIRO SEMINAR
25p

THE ROAD TO SOUTH AFRICAN FREEDOM: PROGRAMME OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY
25p

Available from

INKULULEKO PUBLICATIONS
39 Goodge Street, London W 1

Namibia and the World

by J. VILLIERS

In February 1972, the UN Security Council met for the first time in its history in the capital of an African state – Addis Ababa. The venue symbolised the growing importance of Africa in the modern world, and the recurrent importance of Southern African issues on the agenda of the UN's highest organ. As the biggest single area of colonialism still left in the Third World, and as the bulwark of racism and imperialism on the African country, Southern Africa has due claim to the attention of the world's top diplomats, and no part of Southern Africa has better claim than the territory of Namibia.

Namibia's special international status has been the focus of a protracted legal and political battle for more than half a century. The Addis Ababa meeting added a new twist to this long and tortuous wrangle by calling South Africa to withdraw from Namibia, and instructing the new UN Secretary-General Waldheim to open talks with all parties concerned to establish conditions for the exercise of self-determination and independence. Argentina moved the resolution, and all members of the Security Council supported it, except the People's Republic of China.

Accordingly, a few weeks later Dr. Waldheim paid a short visit to South Africa and to Namibia, where he consulted briefly with a wide range of opinion, and had talks with Vorster. Before his trip he had

also met with leaders of SWAPO who warned him of the dangers of the UN taking any action that might be interpreted as lending UN endorsement to the illegal domination of Namibia by the apartheid regime.

At this critical juncture in the evolution of the crisis of Namibia as an international issue, as a focal point in the world struggle between the oppressed peoples, together with all anti-imperialist forces, and the powers of imperialism, racism and colonialism, it is opportune to look back at the history of this vexed question as a basis for understanding possible future developments. It is especially opportune in view of the impending international conference on Namibia in Brussels.

BEGINNINGS OF THE NAMIBIAN CRISIS

The story of the German conquest of Namibia, the genocidal war against the Herero people, and the crushing of Nama resistance is a story that has been told before in this journal and need not be repeated. (See *African Communist* No. 21, 2nd quarter 1965, & No. 27, 4th quarter 1966). In 1915 the government of Smuts and Botha, taking advantage of Germany's pre-occupation with the war which her imperialist ambitions had unleashed across Europe, took over South West Africa without difficulty. The campaign lasted a bare seven months. Some of the country's eighty thousand African and coloured people at that time harboured the illusion that the Anglo-Dutch force that came to fight the Germans was going to liberate them. They offered to fight alongside these white troops from the neighbouring country, but their offer was curtly refused. It was a white man's war, a war of rival imperialists.

When the first World War was over, the bankers, generals, diplomats and bourgeois politicians gathered in Paris to carve-up defeated Germany's and Turkey's empires. The principal division in the closing stages of the conference lay between those who wanted open annexations, and those who wanted to disguise annexations under a pile of verbiage about 'self-determination', 'trusteeship', and ideals of world government. The latter group won, and the result was the Mandate system.

Before the first World War, nobody had bothered to conceal annexations of colonial territories. The whole of the African continent,

like the great hinterland of China and other parts of Asia, had for at least three decades been infested with the predatory agents of colonialism – armies, missionaries, traders and government agents. Their gigantic and brutal land grab operations had brought the majority of mankind under the domination of a handful of imperialist powers. Yet, driven by the inexorable contradictions of monopoly capitalism, these powers could not rest content with what each had already seized in the scramble for Africa and the rest of the colonial world. Each wanted more, and the result was war. Chief rivals were Germany and Britain, and the transfer of South West Africa from the sphere of influence of German imperialism to that of British imperialism was a side-effect of the outcome of the war. Yet the fact that in 1918 that transfer could not be done openly, but had to be disguised as a form of trusteeship, reflected at the level of diplomacy and international law the new balance of forces in the world.

AFTERMATH OF WORLD WAR I

As a consequence of the war, Germany's imperialist designs were temporarily nullified, only to rise again more viciously under the banner of Hitler's fascism. Britain, earliest and most successful of the major imperialist powers, though a 'winner' of the war, was nevertheless pushed further downhill towards the breakup of empire and a world role rather more in accordance with her actual size of territory and population, i.e. a second-grade capitalist power. The United States on the other hand entered into that phase of world hegemony which was to last half a century and only start disintegrating in the 1970's. A later entrant to the colonial rat-race than France and Britain, the US also had long experience of indirect forms of colonialism – in Central and South America. Thus the Americans at the Paris peace talks were the leading advocates of indirect annexations of 'trusteeship', and President Wilson posed as an idealist and friend of new nations. But behind his inflated rhetoric and his "14 Points" lay the brutal strength of US imperialism as the new dominant force among the rival capitalist powers.

Most important of all, the Paris conference met in the wake of the first great Socialist Revolution. At one blow, the Russian workers and peasants, led by Lenin and the Bolsheviks, had smashed one of the

oldest autocracies in the world, and liberated one of the largest colonial empires. The result was a tremendous boost not only to the revolutionary working class movement, but also to the revolutionary national liberation movement of colonial and semi-colonial peoples. These were the new pacemaking forces, and the creation of a system of mandates, entailing an acceptance of the principle of self-determination and some form of collective international responsibility for the achievement of that goal, was one of the consequences of the growing strength of these new forces. Within a few days of taking power, the Bolsheviks began publishing the secret treaties of the imperialist powers, revealing their annexationist plots and real intentions. The revelations confirmed the Marxist-Leninist analysis of imperialism as the last and highest stage of capitalism, riven with competition to redivide the world, and therefore doomed to perish in an epoch of crisis, war and revolution. They gave added point to the popular demand in Europe and America for a democratic peace, a peace without annexations and indemnities, a peace based upon freely chosen self-determination for all nations.

Nor was this demand confined to Europe and the Americas. To Paris went a delegation of the African National Congress to demand the treatment and land rights of the African majority in South Africa, while at home, under the Presidency of S.M. Makgatno, Congress called for an undertaking that Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland would not be annexed by the Smuts government, and that South West Africa (still under martial law since the South African takeover in 1915) should not be disposed of until the inhabitants had been consulted.[1] But self-determination was not to be for the Namibian people.

For at the Paris peace conference which the ANC lobbied were the very men who had led and organised the South African takeover of South West Africa – Generals Botha and Smuts. They led the official South African delegation, and Smuts, in particular, as a member of the Imperial War Cabinet, and with his penchant for high-flown moralistic phraseology, found himself very mcuh at home – and influential – amongst the imperialist 'statesmen'. Smuts' pseudo-philosophical bent predisposed him towards the Wilsonian ideals of trusteeship for the world at large, and for Germany's former colonies in general. His white South African racist and colonialist instincts led

him to make an exception for SWA – it was suitable, he argued, for direct, open annexation by South Africa. But, as we have seen, such naked acquisitions were no longer possible. Instead, partly upon the suggestion of Smuts, a special third category of mandate was created for those territories

> such as South-West Africa and certain of the Islands in the South Pacific, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilisation, or their geographical contiguity to the mandatory state, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory state as integral portions thereof, subject to safeguards - - - in the interests of the indigenous population.[2]

THE MANDATE SYSTEM – POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE FEATURES

The 'A' Mandate territories were those Balkan and Middle East countries, formerly part of the Turkish empire, whose existence as independent nations was recognised provisionally, and in relation to which the mandatory powers' role was clearly intended to be transitional and marginal. The 'B' mandate territories covered Germany's *other* African colonies (Tanganyika, Togoland and the Cameroons), where the administering states (Britain, France and Belgium) had to provide freedom of conscience and religion, prevent traffic in slaves, arms and liquor, and ensure that no military or naval bases were established. Thus the more extensive and strategic colonies of the defeated powers were allocated to the big international imperialist states, and the smaller, allegedly more 'backward', less strategically important countries were allocated, under C-type mandates, to the regional imperialist powers of the day, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan.

Only for the 'A' mandate territories was independence clearly specified as a goal, and even then without a definite date for its realisation. (Still today the independence of the Palestinian people remains one of the most urgent unresolved international questions.) As for 'B' and 'C' territories, independence was never written into their mandates, and whatever the wishes of their inhabitants, independence was certainly not the intention of the powers who took

them over. The only difference between them was that the mandatory state had a few clearly defined responsibilities in the case of B-type countries, whereas C-type ones were incorporated by the mandatory states. Little wonder that the radical English writer J.A. Hobson, who'd seen for himself imperialism at work in the Anglo-Boer War, described the mandate system as 'a thin veil for the annexation of enemy countries'. It was a correct description, but not a complete one, for it failed to give due place to the opposite, positive aspect of the system, viz. that it represented the beginnings of collective responsibility for colonial and semi-colonial peoples, a framework which could be developed and used to hasten the advent of their independence.

It was just this latter aspect that racist white South Africa disliked about the mandate system. A typical comment in the Press of that time asked : What is a mandate?

> **We know, and all South Africans know, what it must not mean. It must not mean that the natives of South-West Africa are to have any ground for supposing that if they are dissatisfied at any time with the Union Government some mysterious League across the seas will take up their imaginary grievances. The mandatory theory will have to be very carefully applied to SWA, or it may easily contain the germs of future trouble.**[3]

In practice, the 'mysterious League across the seas' proved to be a very weak reed for the colonial peoples to lean on, despite that clause in the League's covenant which asserted that

> **the well-being and development of such peoples form *a sacred trust of civilisation.***
>
> **Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations**

Mandatory powers were in principle supposed to exercise this 'sacred trust' on behalf of the League, and their performance was subject to the scrutiny of the Permanent Mandates Commission composed of so-called 'experts'. The Commission received regular reports from the mandatory powers and criticised their administration when it fell short of their standards. But it was powerless to interfere with the gross abuses and neglect which often came to its notice, and it was powerless because the imperialist powers both big and small would brook no interference with their domination and exploitation of subject peoples.

Most flagrant in its disregard of the 'sacred trust' was the white minority regime of South Africa. Although the brutalities of German rule in SWA had been widely exposed and condemned in 1917-18 in Britain and the Union itself, to justify terminating German possession of the country, once the Union Government got a grip on it, most of the German practices were taken over and extended, in line with the Government's treatment of the oppressed black majority within its own borders. Only the small white settler community was given sacred trust treatment – its political privileges and economic advantages preserved at the cost of harsh repression and mounting land hunger, ill-health and frustration for indigenous Namibians. This system continued for a quarter of a century.

FROM MANDATES TO TRUSTEESHIP

The League of Nations and the Mandates System could not resolve the deadly rivalries of the imperialists, nor satisfy the aspirations of the millions thirsting for independence. The former made war inevitable, and the latter ensured that out of the holocaust of war the old empires would emerge fatally weakened, and a more powerful instrument of collective international responsibility would be forged. When the United Nations was formed, replacing the League of Nations which had been wound up with the outbreak of World War II in 1939, it came into being in a world in which the growth of the world socialist system and the national liberation movement further reduced the scope of imperialism. This made possible the creation, in the UN trusteeship system, of a much more effective institution than the Mandates system for the advancement of non-self-governing peoples to independence. This was bound to heighten the conflict between the South African government and the world body. The genesis of this new phase of the Namibian crisis merits closer inspection.

The post-war period found the Smuts government bent on more segregation in the Union, repression of the popular democratic forces, and the complete absorption of South West Africa. Smuts went to the San Francisco conference where the UN was born with an annexationist scheme in his pocket, but soon had to abandon it when he found that his old backer, British imperialism was itself weakening visibly, with India on the eve of independence, and even the United States could no

longer dictate terms in the old way. Now the voices of the oppressed could not be silenced, and their socialist supporters were stronger and more numerous than before. From the conflict of these opposing forces emerged a Trusteeship system definitely committed (in Article 76 of the UN Charter) to self-government or independence for the Trust territories – a clear if not decisive advance on the Mandate system. Articles 73 and 74 also imposed on countries such as South Africa with 'responsibilities for the administration of Territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government' recognition of

> the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these Territories are paramount

and acceptance as a sacred trust of

> the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants.[4]

SOUTH AFRICA VERSUS THE UNITED NATIONS

When in 1946, at the first session of the UN, South Africa asked for approval for its plan to incorporate SWA in the Union, only the British delegate supported the scheme. Most delegates were frankly sceptical about a referendum which, the Smuts government claimed, had showed that the inhabitants of the territory wanted incorporation. No outside observers had been allowed in, and no details about the conduct of the referendum except the alleged result was supplied to the UN. The following year the Union Government, foiled in its opening bid, took up the stance which was to lead to the years of litigation that lay ahead. It refused to place the territory under the Trusteeship System, and announced its intention to continue to administer SWA 'in the spirit of the Mandate'.

This amounted to a refusal to recognise the obvious – that the United Nations was the legal successor to the League of Nations, and that the Mandate system had been replaced by the Trusteeship system. South Africa's only concession to the new world body (aside from the fact that she took her seat in it as she had in its predecessor) was to

submit reports on its administration to the UN. Barely two years later, with the Nationalist Government in power, even that gesture of compliance came to a stop. Foreign Minister Eric Louw insulted the new African and Asian member states in a blatant racist way, and his party further demonstrated its intentions by creating additional seats in the South African Parliament for South West African constituencies. This was not merely a crude electoral move to strengthen the NP's tenuous parliamentary majority (they had got in on a minority vote), but also a step towards the assimilation of SWA, a barring of the door to that 'self-determination or independence' which the UN Charter had put on the agenda.

This provocative defiance moved the progressive majority of members states in the UN General Assembly to seek legal clarification of SWA's status from the International Court of Justice at the Hague. The resulting Advisory Opinion, handed down in 1950, was established with decisive majorities. It settled all the basic principles of international law regarding SWA and created the legal framework for action by the organs and members of the UN. The Opinion decided that :

1) The Mandate was still in existence (Unanimous)

2) South Africa still had obligations under the Covenant of the League, whose supervisory functions should be exercised by the UN, and South Africa should submit to the UN annual reports and petitions from the inhabitants (Majority 12-2);

3) Chapter 12 of the UN Charter provided the means for bringing SWA under the trusteeship system, without creating a legal obligation to do so (Majority 8-6);

4) South Africa could not unilaterally alter the international status of SWA; it could only be done with the consent of the UN (Unanimous).

This finding was a blow to the apartheid-mongers. It reflected at the level of international law the consolidated strength of anti-colonialist forces – of the rising nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and of the enlarged group of socialist states. In South Africa itself the ANC was being revitalised by the militant Youth League, and the Communist Party was advancing the alliance of all anti-apartheid forces. Prevented from getting to the UN themselves, leaders of the various South West

African peoples sent emissaries adding to the debates an element that had been absent from the deliberations of the League, the petition of those most affected by South Africa's domination.

Defeated politically, the Nationalist Government took refuge in legalisms. Britain, France and the US had originally conferred the mandate, so South Africa would hold itself responsible to them, not to the UN. This was too bare-faced a piece of imperialist conniving, and the UN Ad Hoc Committee (which Britain, loyal friend of apartheid, refused to serve on) submitted counter-proposals. The Nationalists rejected them. Could the UN General Assembly decide matters regarding SWA by a two-thirds majority (the strongest procedure used by the UN) or must it be unanimous (as it was with the League, giving any one of the small grouping of imperialist powers the power of veto)? The World Court decided that two-thirds sufficed (1955). Could the UN grant hearings to petitioners (not just the right to submit documents)? The World Court decided that it could (1956).

This third Advisory Opinion of the Hague Court opened the door to the physical presence of Namibians at the UN. This meant the UN would hear the authentic voice of bitter experience, the eloquence born of a just cause pleaded by honest men. To forestall further exposures of their truant partner, the US and Britain hatched up a scheme for the creation of a Good Offices Committee (comprising the US, UK and Brazil) to negotiate a settlement with South Africa. The outcome was a proposal to partition Namibia, and it was immediately recognised by the great majority of members of the General Assembly as another form of annexation. It was thrown out, and in the meantime the trickle of petitioners and petitions had swelled to a flood. In 1946 a single cable had been sent to the UN from Namibia – from the Herero and Nama chiefs. In 1960 the UN Fourth Committee received 120 petitions, many of them presented in person.

By 1960 the legal manouevring had gone on long enough. South Africa continued to ignore advisory opinions, so an effective judgment of the court was needed. Two independent African states, both former members of the League of Nations, asked the World Court to require South Africa to comply with its obligations and cease violations of the Mandate. The litigation period, it seemed, was entering its final phase.

AFRICAN UPSURGE

Behind these developments lay the great forward surge of the liberation movement in Africa and other parts of the colonial world. In 1960 alone, 16 independent African states took their seats in the UN for the first time. The independence of several others, including Tanganyika, Kenya and Zambia was just around the corner. And inside Namibia itself, broad political parties of the black people were being formed, rising above the tribal and regional limitations of previous organisations, mobilising new forces in the fight for independence. In 1961 apartheid South Africa was expelled from the Commonwealth and the following year her preliminary objections to the World Court proceedings were overruled by an 8-7 majority of the Court. The omens seemed to augur well for progress towards a solution of this vexed question.

The World Court case was clearly going to be a protracted affair; in the meantime political action in support of UN policy was necessary. So in 1960 the UN Special Committee on South West Africa which had been established in 1953 sought for the first time to visit the territory. The South African government refused visas, and threatened to arrest any committee members who entered SWA 'illegally'. Nevertheless, the Committee travelled southward via Ghana and Rhodesia, interviewing Namibian exiles, and planning to enter SWA via the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland. As the point of confrontation came closer, in stepped apartheid's oldest ally, the British government. It demanded assurances that the Committee would not try to enter SWA without the permission of the Verwoerd regime – assurances which the Committee could not possibly give. As a result, the Committee was debarred from entering Bechuanaland and the visit fizzled out. Scarcely more constructive was the visit two years later of the Committee's chairman, an unstable Philippino diplomat named Carpio, and its Vice-Chairman. Carpio issued so many contradictory reports and statements that the reputation of the Committee was tarred and the image of the UN itself was not improved. The Committee was in any case wound up and its work taken over by the newly formed 'Committee of 24', the UN organ established in 1961 to oversee and speed up the process of decolonisation.

With pressure of the UN being kept up and a World Court decision (stronger than an Advisory Opinion) in the offing, the South African Government rushed headlong into the only sort of 'decolonisation'

which it knows of – the Bantustan scheme. A major commission was appointed under the Administrator of the Transvaal, Odendaal, and in 1964 it reported. It proposed that 40 per cent of SWA be partitioned into 11 separate self-governing homelands, and 43 per cent of the land be reserved for whites. The rest, including the diamond zone would fall under the direct administration of Pretoria, and become in fact the Republic's 5th province. The Special Committee of 24 condemned this extraordinary apartheid blue-print and demanded that Pretoria should not implement it.

In July 1966 the long-awaited day of judgment dawned. The Verwoerd regime had evaded the question whether it would accept a ruling of the Court, and nobody knew what the key imperialist powers in the UN Security Council would do if the Court ruled against South Africa. Then, after 6 years of argument and evidence, the Court shocked the world by deciding not to decide on the merits of the case. It took the procedural point that Ethiopia and Liberia did not have a legal basis for bringing the matter before the court. This non-decision, shattering the hopes and expectations of millions, was reached by only 7 members of the Court, and they were opposed by 7 others. One of the former 7, Australian judge Spender, happened to be Chairman of the court, and he used his casting vote to turn the case against Ethiopia and Liberia. Co-partners in this judicial crime included Wellington Koo of Nationalist China – a 'country' which should never have been admitted to the UN anyway and has now been ousted in favour of the People's Republic of China, and expatriate Polish judge Winiarski whose stance was instantly repudiated by the Polish government.

END THE MANDATE

Though the decision seemed at the time a defeat for progressive forces, and was hailed by the racists as a triumph, its effects were in reality positive. At the international level it drove home the lesson that wresting Namibia from Vorster's clutches could not be done by judicial pronouncement – political action was needed. As a result, a long-standing proposal of several militant African states, to terminate the mandate and place the territory under UN administration, was put to the General Assembly and carried by a tremendous majority of 114 to 2 against (S.A. and Portugal), with 3 abstentions (the UK and France –

predictably, and, joining the big sharks, the treacherous minnow of Banda's Malawi). Inside Namibia the Court's decision underlined what had been becoming increasingly apparent to sections of the liberation movement, namely the need for self-reliance, and the necessity of building a mass movement, utilising armed struggle as well as other forms of struggle, to mount a revolutionary challenge to Vorster's regime. The stand of those who had already launched armed struggle was clearly vindicated – outside forces could only play a secondary role to the efforts of the people themselves. The result was a marked increase in the efficiency and scale of guerilla operations, and despite losses, many a severe blow was struck at the racist enemy in the ensuing months and years.

This important new advance in the struggle for Namibia's independence in turn had repercussions at the international level. The principle of taking SWA directly into the responsibility of the UN having been adopted, steps had to be taken to realise this aim. Accordingly in 1967 a special UN Council of 11 members was created, and the following year the name of the territory was officially recognised as Namibia. (The name of the Council was changed accordingly). The issue was again referred to the World Court and this time, belatedly but decisively, the Court decided on an Advisory Opinion handed down in June 1971 that South Africa's presence in Namibia is illegal. The majority was 13 to 2. By a hardly less emphatic majority (11 to 4), the Court spelled out the implications of its finding for member states of the UN. The Court ruled that :

- the mandate can be terminated without South Africa's consent;
- the UN is the successor to the League of Nations, and as such is competent to pronounce on South Africa's conduct as the Mandatory power;
- the General Assembly has the authority to terminate South Africa's mandate;
- although the General Assembly lacks the power to ensure the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia, the Security Council does have this power and has validly exercised it in conformity with the UN Charter;

- member states of the UN are obliged by Article 25 of the Charter to comply with decisions of the Security Council even if they voted against them, and whether or not they were members of the Security Council;
- South Africa's presence was illegal and it was under an obligation to withdraw its administration.

The court also made clear that member states of the UN are obliged to recognise the illegality of South Africa's presence, and the invalidity of its acts concerning Namibia. They must therefore refrain from any acts or dealing with the South African government implying recognition of the legality of, or lending support or assistance to Pretoria's illegal rule. This decision, though not binding on members of the UN, nevertheless put paid to the apartheid regime's long-vaunted pretence of legitimacy. It brought to an end the protracted post-war haggle over who, in international law, is responsible for Namibia. And it has given the green light to campaigns against the role of monopoly capital in Namibia, and against the cynical co-operation in the plunder of the territory of the main imperialist powers. It did not, of course, give Namibians their freedom. But it did strengthen the framework of international collective responsibility for Namibia, and it drew into the spotlight the role of apartheid's main partners – Britain, France and US – which alone now stand between the principles adopted by the world body and their realisation in practice.

WALDHEIM'S VISIT

Against this background Waldheim's recent visit can be seen in full perspective. It was not an act of unprincipled collaboration with the illegal administrators, but the latest in a long series of attempts to implement the policies of the UN. Nor was it, on the other hand, that great 'advance' hailed by the bourgeois press, the beginnings of a 'dialogue' with Vorster. If Waldheim intends to launch such a dialogue, he will certainly be rebuffed by the Afro-Asian and Socialist states at the UN – the whole history of the diplomatic tussle shows that the imperialist powers cannot get away with their devious schemes for annexation, partition, Bantustan-style 'independence', or any other

diversion from the goal of true independence. The UN Council for Namibia has already been active in preparing internationally recognised travel documents for Namibians in exile. Its future effectiveness depends solely on the extent to which the big 3 imperialist powers in the UN Security Council are prevented from frustrating the will of the majority of members of the General Assembly.

More is at stake here than simply the future of Namibia. If the UN can be brought to intervene decisively and wrest Namibia from Vorster, the door is open to effective sanctions against apartheid South Africa, to the total isolation of the illegal settler regime in Zimbabwe, and to the defeat of Portugal's weakening rule in her 3 African territories. This is why not only South Africa and Portugal, but also the US, Britain and France are desperately striving to halt the march of history. If, at the UN, they can be politically isolated and routed, the independence of Namibia must follow speedily. And in this real possibility lies a great challenge to all democratic and progressive forces in the West.

J. Villiers, May 1972

REFERENCES

1. Mary Benson : *The African Patriots* p.41.
2. Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations quoted in Ruth First and Ronald Segal (eds) : *South West Africa – Travesty of a Trust* p.79.
3. *South Africa* 8/2/1919. Quoted in First and Segal, *op cit* p.81. (Ch. by Wm. R. Louis)
4. Quoted in *A Principle in Torment – III The UN & Namibia* UN Office of Public Information 1971. p.5.

Apartheid, Industrialisation and the Trade Unions

by R.E. BRAVERMAN

The Vorster regime and its imperialist backers have launched a campaign at home and abroad to pretend that there is a 'liberal' mood building up in South Africa. Defenders of apartheid are striving to persuade people abroad that continued industrialisation will speed up the process of breaking down colour bars.

The purpose is to pretend that trade with and investments in South Africa should be encouraged and that anti-apartheid boycott campaigns are retrogressive if not downright reactionary. Industrialisation and economic growth, so it is claimed, with the consequent shortage of white skilled labour, will substantially improve the position of African, Coloured and Indian workers and, will eventually lead to a relaxation in the racial situation in South Africa. This view is being propagated by people who are defenders of its apartheid policy and who wish to make South Africa acceptable to the international community.

Certainly, there is a shortage of skilled workers in certain areas. D.J.M. Vorster (Director, National Institute for Personnel Research) in his paper *Labour Requirements for the 1970's* delivered to the National Development and Management Foundation of S.A., at the 9th Business Outlook Conference, October 1970, said:

> Recent surveys by Federated Chamber of Industries and Associated Chambers of Commerce revealed an estimated shortage for all races of 101,000 (FCI 65,000 & ASSOCOM 36,000). Greatest shortage for males is in transport, communication services, professional, technical and skilled occupations. Regarding occupational distribution, a great gap separates White and Non-White groups. 19 per cent of whites are in professions, management, administration and technical occupations as compared with only 2 per cent of Non-Whites. Whites, forming less than 1/5th of population of 21 million, provide almost the entire managerial, administrative and skilled personnel.

The truth of the matter is, the whites dominate administration, executive and professional positions both in the public and the private sectors. The sons of white skilled workers – engineers, building artisans or typomen – are receiving higher education and moving out of the working class into the professions.

The labour shortage is in industries that are experiencing a boom, such as construction, mining, motor industry, iron and steel and related industries. They cannot obtain the number of skilled men required. Expansion in any one area such as the public sector represented by the military build-up, will attract recruits who would otherwise be available to the manufacturing industries. White immigration is not sufficient to provide the skills required, therefore, *employers* are urging a relaxation of the colour bars. This is borne out by statements made by employers' representatives:

> 'We have not got the White manpower to fuel the economic advance of this country' declared Mr. E.L. Klopfer, Vice-President of the S.A. Federated Chamber of Industries. 'The recruitment of immigrants has not proved as successful as originally expected, said the Master Building Industries Federation'. (*Rand Daily Mail*, 17 April 1970).

Employers as a class want free competition which makes for lower wages, higher productivity and greater profits. To be precise, they want the relaxation of some restrictions which would enable them to fit Black and Brown workers into jobs where Whites are no longer available. They do not propose any change in the power structure in which whites alone are the lawmakers for the mass of Black and Brown peoples. The integration of a number of skilled African, Coloured and Indian workers into the lower echelons of the white economy will not bring

about the fundamental changes which are required. The political power remains firmly rooted in the hands of a government that is responsive only to the white electors. In fact the ruling class in South Africa do not want to see any fundamental change in the political structure. They will fight to retain the present political structure – white racist minority rule.

THE WHITE TRADE UNIONS

An idea is being spread that the established trade union movement in South Africa has undergone a change; that it is turning against the apartheid regime, is supporting the claims of African, Coloured and Indian workers and is associating with the liberal opponents of the Vorster regime.

This is an optimistic evaluation, shared in some international labour circles such as the I.L.O., based on some statements made by leaders of the trade union council of South Africa (TUCSA). The Director-General of the I.L.O., in his Seventh Special Report on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid of the R.S.A. has this to say:

> The overall picture . . . . . is one of a general erosion of the occupational colour bar in about every sector of the economy . . . . . the factual trend will increasingly be towards the economic integration of all the races living in South Africa . . . . . and would be not only welcomed by management but also accepted by a substantial section of the trade union movement.

Let us examine the existing trade unions and their policies. The Co-ordinating Council of S.A. Trade Unions – Die Ko-Ordinerende Raad van S.A. Vakvereenigings is the trade union organisation which helped the Nationalists into power in 1948. It consists of 14 unions with 55,097 white members employed in building trades, textile, shop assistants, road transport, provincial and public servants, iron and steel Volkskas, state saw millers and foresters and match workers. This small, exclusively Afrikaner organisation represents public servants and workers in parastatal organisations such as Iscor and Sasol. It has marked similarities with the earlier Spoorbond also an Afrikaans trade union of the workers in the state-owned railway and harbour administration.

The Ko-Ordinerende Raad is a constituent section of the S.A. Confederation of Labour, a pro-government body which echoes government policy. The other sections are the Federal Consultative Council of S.A. Railways and Harbours, a state-company union, with 7 affiliated unions with a white membership of 86,235, a body which acts as a stooge to suppress trade unionism amongst African, Coloured and Indian workers, and the Federation of Mine Production Workers (with 3 unions and 22,200 white members) and 3 individual unions (Furniture, Municipal and TVL Explosives and Chemical W.U.) with a white membership of 30,198. Thus the total membership of the S.A. Confederation of Labour is 27 unions with a membership of 183,781.

It will be seen that the Confederation as a whole is dominated by workers in the state-owned and parastatal enterprises.

Here is their attitude on the labour shortage in relation to the African, Coloured and Indian workers. This is what they say and act upon:–

Mr. L.J. van den Berg, Chairman S.A. Confederation of Labour, addressing the 9th Annual Conference of the National Development and Management Foundation of S.A., 13-14 October 1970:

On the shortage of labour – 'I urge employers to recruit more labour overseas, more wages and fringe benefits to the existing labour force' (speaking as he does for Whites only).

On the issue of Africans and labour – 'Border areas are still White areas in spite of the fact that more Bantu are employed in those industries. It is a prerequisite to our support for decentralisation that our Industrial Conciliation Agreement will apply . . .'

The S.A. Postal Association refused to agree to the appointment of African, Coloured and Indian postmen on a permanent basis. (*Garment Worker* 27 August 1971).

Mr. J.R. Benade, Secretary of the Federal Consultative Council of Railway Staff Associations said:

'If a job which had been handed over to a non-white again came into demand among white workers, it would be re-instated as white work.' (*Rand Daily Mail*, 2 July 1970).

The above attitudes merely reflect the policies these workers' leaders were nurtured in.

The Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUSCA) which was formed in October 1954, held its 17th Annual Conference in Durban 14-16 September 1971. A number of resolutions and policy statements adopted gave to some the illusion that 'new currents and developments are now taking place within the White South African trade union movement.'

I must emphasise that TUSCA represents only a section of organised labour. Its membership consists of 16 trade unions with a combined membership of 186,478. No Africans are allowed. The Unions and membership are made up as follows:

	White Members	Coloured	Indian	Total
13 White Unions	33,088	–	–	33,088
25 Racially mixed Unions	46,297	62,749	20,784	129,830
23 Coloured & Indian	–	14,524	9,036	23,560
61 Total	79,385	77,273	29,820	186,478

Out of a total of 186,478, 79,385 are whites and 107,093 Coloureds and Indians. Most of the unions represent the producers of light consumer goods, the distributive and service trades, transport, and three important unions of craft workers – typographical, iron moulders, boilermakers, iron and steel workers, ship-builders and welders. All these three unions have severe colour bars. The so-called black squad such as the moulders, boilermakers, were prominent advocates of the colour bar in the early formative period of trade unionism and have not changed their basic attitudes. The typographical union although ostensibly without a colour bar in their earlier constitution, had virtually eliminated Coloured, Indian and African skilled tradesmen by means of discrimination in apprenticeship, agreements and control of employment by their chapels.

TUCSA does not speak for the main body of white workers and cannot be said to represent an important section of the voters. By this I do not imply that we should deprecate the importance of TUSCA but we must put it in its proper perspective to evaluate correctly its significance. The purpose of this article is to examine the role and policy of TUCSA.

TUCSA, at its formation adopted a constitution closing the door to African trade unions. I do not intend to trace in detail the series of betrayals that marked the response of TUCSA to the Nationalist Government's offensive against free trade unions and the African, Coloured and Indian peoples. I must, however, draw attention to the nature of opposition offered by TUCSA to the I.C. Act of 1956. This is the statute that provides for job reservation by decree and for compulsory enforcement of racial segregation in the trade unions.

TUCSA's spokesmen protested against both these provisions, but did so on the grounds that the established and experienced trade union leadership could be relied upon to maintain the supremacy of the white worker in industry and commerce. In effect TUCSA said to the government: 'Leave it to us, we can do a better job than your officials.'

I can find no evidence to support the argument that TUCSA has changed its nature of policy in any essential respect. It is as vulnerable to political pressure from the right as it has ever been. TUCSA's first constitution was open only to registered trade unions, which in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act debarred trade unions with African members. A number of trade unions denounced this discrimination against African trade unions as being contrary to the principles and interests of the working class and as a shameful capitulation to the racial ideology and interests of the white rulers, notably the landowners and mineowners.

These Unions helped to establish the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions – SACTU – in March 1955 a non-colour bar constitution. TUCSA sponsored and supported a break-away of African trade unions from SACTU and so FOFATUSA (Federation of Free African Trade Unions) was established with Mrs. Lucy Mvubelo of the African Garment Workers and others. TUCSA was criticised in international trade union circles, and at its 8th annual conference in 1962 it revised its constitution to open its doors to '*bonafide* trade unions' – thus African trade unions could also affiliate. It was hoped thereby that TUCSA would be accepted in international trade union circles. But few African Unions affiliated to TUCSA.

TUCSA and FOFATUSA collaborated to try to destroy SACTU. However, FOFATUSA did not inspire confidence in African workers and the leadership dissolved it in 1966 and urged its unions to affiliate with TUCSA.

In December 1967 TUSCA's Special Conference resolved once again to bar African trade unions. Their action was severely criticised by many international trade unions and in April 1968 its Annual Conference voted by a large majority (36 to 18 unions, representing 123,566 to 32,671 members) in favour of allowing African unions to affiliate.

Faced with criticism from the Minister of Labour and disaffiliations from right-wing unions, TUCSA's Annual Conference in February 1969 once again amended its constitution and excluded African Unions from affiliation. This decision which was severely criticised by Churchmen of the Christian Institute and International Trade Union Centres, did not succeed in averting attacks on TUCSA by government spokesmen.

The Government is anxious to retain only the Confederation of Labour which does not oppose its ruthless pursuit of policies entailing the decentralisation of industry and 'repatriation' of African workers from the industrial cities to the industries on the borders of the Bantustans.

These measures are part of their apartheid system designed to direct and control the occupational and geographic mobility of the African workers, so as to increase the exploitation of African labour and enrich the white land, mine and factory owners.

The Physical Planning Act of 1968, The Bantu Labour Act, 1964, the Bantu Laws Amendment of Government Notice R1260 of 7th August 1970, the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act, 1970, and the Bantu Affairs Administration Act 1971 are all an extension and intensification of the oppressive apartheid system and migrant labour policy.

The policy of mass removal of Africans from the industrial cities and from white towns, forcing them into 'resettlement villages' with no employment, no agricultural land, no social amenities, no decent housing, schools and clinics has been described in *The Discarded People* by Cosmos Desmond. Its aims are:

a) to banish unemployed from the towns and cities, while concentrating them in definite places so that they are immediately available to the employers in case of demand in the future;
b) to release the large reservoirs of African workers up to now locked up in the white farms and make them available in those sectors of the economy where there are shortages; simultaneously

to continue the land dispossession of the Africans, removing them from the land and depriving them of stock and agricultural land which they used to supplement their incomes;

c) to create conditions for the easier administrative, police and army control of the African people.

The White racist minority regime's basic policy is as stated by the Minister of Labour, Dr. Viljoen:

> Our metropolitan areas, our white cities, will in future become whiter and not blacker. This government deems the survival of the Whites to be far more valuable than any temporary economic benefits (House of Assembly Debates, 1970, No. 7, Col. 3312).

Viljoen assured the Free State National Party Congress that the government would at all times protect the White workers in South Africa. The Government would not allow racial mixing among workers or whites to work under non-whites. (*Rand Daily Mail*, 16 September 1971).

TUCSA argues that white workers' privileges can be preserved by accepting the African worker in a numerically growing number in the industrial expansion, by keeping the African trade unions under its control so enabling TUCSA to regulate wages and conditions of work for them. Here are some of their statements:

> TUCSA has consistently advocated that all workers be allowed to form their own employee organisations, or alternatively, that they be admitted to the registered bodies under white control and guidance if necessary on a limited rights basis (TUCSA Secretary Grobbelaar in TUCSA's Newsletter No. 62, July 1968).

> TUCSA demands equal pay for equal work, but does not support the major demands of all non-white workers i.e. that they should have equal opportunities as well (TUCSA Tom Murray then its President in April 1969, when Indian, African and Coloured doctors at King Edward VIII Hospital, Durban, threatened to work to rule to obtain the same salaries as their white colleagues).

> The government is imperilling the living standards of the white workers by continuing to ignore the significance of the many thousands of African

workers now holding jobs on the other side of the colour line. (Mr. L.C. Scheepers, Pres. of TUCSA, Rand Daily Mail 29 April 1970).

The trade unions must participate in determining the conditions of employment of all workers ..... it is proposed that additional powers possibly be given to the Bantu Labour Board Officials. (Policy Committee recommendations adopted by NEC TUCSA, June 1969.)

These statements expose TUCSA's attitude towards the 5 million African workers. The African workers know that the Native Labour Settlement of Disputes Act, the Board and officials are their enemies and weapons for the employers and government. They do not want any dealings with them.

The African coal workers, dockers, cement workers miners who went on strike in 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971 had been endorsed out, their leaders arrested, their strikes for legitimate demands broken. TUCSA to its shame and disgrace did not offer any help to these workers.

SACTU'S VIEW

In contrast, let us take the principled stand taken by South Africa's only truly non-racial trade union body, the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions. For the first time over several years SACTU's voice was heard when it presented an important memorandum to the National Labour Conference to consider the labour shortage, held at the University of Capetown from 28 April to 1 May 1971. I make no apology for citing this document at some length.

We are not able to be represented at your conference because of the oppressive action taken by the government against members of our organisation since our very inception in 1955.

The circumstances that prevent us from putting in a personal appearance are not irrelevant to the problems discussed at your conference.

What in the final analysis is the reason for the oppressive action taken by the government against us, our affiliated unions and against the entire body of trade unionism, or that section of trade unionists that have fallen foul of the government? We mention three categories – the unions

affiliated to us, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) itself and other unions whose officials have been listed, banned and prevented from carrying out their duties as trade union organisers and administrators.

We and they have suffered this treatment because of our efforts to achieve the establishment of a free society enabling workers of all races to acquire education, technical skills and industrial experience.

No amount of persecution and repression by government and employers has changed our basic policy of striving for the liberation of workers of all races from racial oppression, colour discrimination and class injustices in every shape or form.

We believe it important that the conference should recognise that it is dealing with only one part of a complex, which embraces the entire area of political and social as well as economic rights and disabilities of groups in South Africa and relationships between them. More simply stated; the shortage of skilled labour is a function of the South African social structure and not simply a temporary malaise which can be cured by symptomatic treatment, ad hoc remedies and a patchwork approach.

The growth of the industrial societies in Europe, America, Asia and most of Africa has emancipated working people from pre-industrial restraints imposed by class legislation and feudalistic institutions. In South Africa alone do we find the existence of pre-industrial mentality, attitudes and institutions now imposed upon a highly industrialised base.

It is not enough to look at the problem from the point of view of the employers and economic growth. When one talks of the 'shortage of labour' one must think about the fate of the many thousands of our young black and brown people growing up in our country who have the desire and potential ability to advance economically, but are doomed by the social structure to a life-time of frustration, casual labour, long spells of unemployment and family disorganisation.

South Africa's enormous crime rate, one of the highest in the world, we say is a product of the labour situation as are the high rate of infant mortality, malnutrition and preventable diseases. The rulers of our country bear the responsibility for disease, crime and suffering which follows from competition to preserve the profits and privileges of a small section and to entrench the ruling Nationalist Party in power.

> The 'shortage of labour' is not a simple economic phenomenon. It is an essential element in a political and social strategy designed to perpetuate inequalities and injustice. Therefore we call on the South African Government to recognise the principles laid down in the Declaration of Philadelphia of 1946, which states inter alia that 'all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity'.
>
> We call for full democratic rights for the African majority and other non-white peoples, that is, the right to vote and be elected to all governing bodies of the Republic.

As a result of the work of the liberation movement exposing racial discrimination in South Africa, the UN and its agencies have condemned apartheid policies. The racists are being boycotted from sport, scientific conferences, trade, tourism, etc. The international climate is against the white minority regime in South Africa.

It was the activity of the SACTU officials abroad which resulted in the creation of the UN Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts in 1967 in response to a complaint by the WFTU to the ILO on 3 March 1966 on the infringement of trade union rights by the South African Government.

The WFTU, ICFTU, World Confederation of Labour, and ILO condemned South Africa's labour policies. The UN's General Assembly 24th Session declared on the 8th December 1969 that 1971 be observed as the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and in September 1971 called upon all Trade Union centres to convene in 1972 a conference of World Labour against Racism.

TUCSA is sensitive to external pressures. They want to be accepted by the ILO and the International Trade Union movement.

ILO's 56th Session in June 1971 adopted a far-reaching resolution on South Africa, Mr. Grobbelaar (TUCSA General Secretary) reported on his return from this Session that he was 'appalled at the virulent anti-apartheid feeling among the government, trade union and employer representatives of 119 countries. He quoted the resolution adopted by the ILO and concluded: 'That there is a powerful united front building up against South Africa's race discrimination policies is undoubted . . .'

(*Garment Worker* 16 July 1971) He warned that 'Trade union leaders who attended the ILO conference, intend introducing a number of measures in their countries aimed at crippling South Africa's economy'. (*Sunday Express* 11 July 1971).

Mrs. Lucy Mvubelo, General Secretary of the 17,000-strong National Union of Clothing Workers (African Section), a collaborator with TUCSA spent 45 days in the USA at the invitation of the USA government, and also visited several European countries. During her tour she told audiences 'I would like to see greater involvement in the development programme of our Continent by the wealthier nations of the world.' In Los Angeles she appealed for more American industrial investment in South Africa. She said: 'It is very advantageous for us, the Africans as well as for our country, for industries to come to South Africa. Those who oppose this in the USA and say there should be economic sanctions against South Africa or to boycott South Africa have the wrong concept. They would only be hurting the people who are making their living from those industries. As far as foreign investment or industries in South Africa are concerned, we believe they are one of the major ways to bring about the betterment of Africans in South Africa.' (*Garment Worker* 25 June 1971).

Mrs. Mvubelo is supporting the point of view which is being widely propagated by people who are supporting the Pretoria White racist regime. It is local and international capitalism that are the pillars of racism. It is the capitalists at home and abroad who are advancing the illusion that economic integration will bring about a liberalising influence and lead to a relaxation of apartheid.

Economic integration existed ever since whites came to South Africa. How else did they develope the vinyards in the Western Cape? Who built the harbours at Capetown, Port Elizabeth, East London and Durban? Who built the railway lines, and roads from Capetown to the rest of the country, developed the sugar fields, plantations and mills? Who dug out the riches from the bowels of the earth, the diamonds gold, coal, platinum? How else did the steel mills and all other factories come into operation?

Integration has gone so far, that there are not enough men left in the Transkei, Ciskei and other areas to work the land, no more effective subsistence economy. Africans whether they live in the industrial cities or on farms in Transkei depend mainly on wages.

The government supporters argue that since Africans are essential to the white economy and white labour is insufficient; since apartheid imposes artificial restrictions on the human resources, job reservation must break down; *industrialisation must sweep aside apartheid and that economic forces will overcome the political power structure. This implies that change will be brought about in South Africa through industrialisation.*

If industrialisation was to bring about improvements and change in the social and material position of Africans the results would have become obvious in the great boom years of the 1st and 2nd world wars and of the 1960's when there was a growth rate of 8 per cent.

The facts of life in South Africa nullify these contentions. In the 1960's, the boom years, the racist government introduced vicious legislation against the African, Coloured and Indian people. In 1945, Africans in the manufacturing Industry earned 25% of white wages; in 1970 it was only 17%. The proportion in Coloured workers had fallen from 42% to 26%. In mining African wages had been one tenth of white wages, now they are one eighteenth. (*Rand Daily Mail*, 15 April, 1971).

South Africa is today passing through serious economic problems. Basically, these problems relate to the balance of payments. Throughout the recent years of expansion, she has imported more than she can pay for by her industrial, agricultural and base minerals. The gap has varied from R300-million to R600-million a year, but in 1970 rose to a record of R1,008-million. Latest government figures show that the gap between imports and exports continues to increase and the adverse trade balance for the first five months of last year has gone up to R595-million. For the first five months of 1970 it was R330-million. Imports from Europe increased by R120-million compared with 1970's figure, and exports declined by R36-million.

This is mainly due to its military budget which for 1970-71 stood at more than R250-million and that for 1971-72 is as high as R300-million.

There are two reasons for this. One is the growth of South African imperialism, its rapid industrialisation and search for markets and fields of investment.

The second reason is strategic. The whites in South Africa are conscious of their isolation and of the condemnation of apartheid by

the UN. The threat presented by the liberation armies in Southern Africa adds another dimension to South Africa's predicament.

By establishing economic and political links with African neighbouring states the South African government hopes to keep them as bastions for the defence of White Supremacy.

TUCSA supports this 'outward looking' imperialist policy, so that its members may benefit from this expansion. At the end of 1968 TUCSA suggested contacts with trade union bodies in other African countries and stated:

> 'In this way iniquities in pay and working conditions could be studied and resolved, to the possible benefit of the continental work force, and unfair trading competition between neighbouring territories halted.' (TUCSA's newsletter No. 62 of 1968).

At its 17th Annual conference held in Durban on 13-17 September TUCSA passed a number of resolutions which gave to some the illusion that 'new currents and developments' are now taking place within the 'White South African trade union movement'.

Tom Murray in his presidential address to the conference said: 'I maintain that it is immoral for a trade union movement, based as it should be on the fine concept of the brotherhood of labour and the indispensible need for collective bargaining, to practice discrimination solely on the basis of colour.'

How far does this noble working class statement tally with his statement as secretary of the Council of Mining Unions, when they resolved that their members are to refuse to train Africans in technical jobs even for the Bantustan mines?

'Some Unions,' continued Murray, 'believe that the concept of Separate Development (the Nationalist Party's present euphemism for apartheid – REB) means nothing more than a continuation of Baasskap . . . Separate development in their own areas or homelands of the various African people in our country, so as to afford them the opportunity, obviously at the expense of the Whites in the first instance, to establish viable economies and the right to self-determination.'

Adopting the very vocabulary and word-pattern of the apartheid theorists, Tom Murray appeals to the government to allow TUCSA to organise African workers into 'safe' unions. Otherwise he warns 'as surely as night follows day, they will eventually start a movement of their own which in the circumstances cannot but be politically-orientated with all that such a situation will imply.

'Keep in mind the fact that Non-Whites already out-number Whites three to one in industry in South Africa. What is vitally necessary, however, is government approval to enable an organisation such as TUCSA to organise the African worker, and, by so doing, encourage him to identify himself with responsible trade unionsim. Let me repeat the alternative – the inevitable emergence of an all African trade union movement wedded to nationalism, in this instance Black Nationalism . . . remember that time is not on *our* side.' (i.e. the White side).

NATIONAL CONVENTION?

No-one will be misled by the resolution of this TUCSA conference to join 'other interested organisations' in calling for a National Convention. A National Convention (i.e. an elected, fully representative Constituent Assembly) has long been a leading demand of our liberation movement. But this, clearly, is far from what TUCSA had in mind.

At the same conference TUCSA went out of its way to attack the liberation movement and to please the Pretoria regime. It 'deplored the intensification of guerrilla activities aimed at South Africa'; it gave 'whole-hearted support for the government's outward-looking policy and to the concept of a meaningful dialogue'. It condemned the British TUC and the World Council of Churches for their support of liberation movements.

TUCSA's 'liberal' resolutions adopted at its recent conference merely repeated what such bodies as: S.A. Federated Chambers of Industries, S.A. Chambers of Commerce, the Master Building Industries Federation, Chamber of Mines and even the Handels-Instituut have stated at their annual conferences, 'Recruitment of immigrants has not proved as successful as originally expected' . . . 'We have not got the white manpower to fuel the economic advance of this country.'

Employers as a class want free competition which makes for lower wages, higher productivity and greater profits. They want an enhanced internal market. They fear the 'gigantic differences in living standards such as those between Black and White in South Africa will give rise to labour unrest and even worse things . . .'

These ideas were echoed by TUCSA's conference. None of them want abolition of the apartheid structure of South Africa's society. They do not propose any change in the power structure in which white

minority alone are the law makers for the Black majority. The integration of a number of African, Coloured and Indian workers into the lower echelons of the white economy will not bring about the fundamental changes which are urgent. The political power remains firmly rooted in the hands of a government that is responsive only to white voters.

TUCSA has its own contradiction which is the reflection of South Africa's society. Its majority affiliates are Coloured and Indian – but its leadership is predominantly white. Out of 24 executive members only 5 are Coloured or Indians. The whole office administration from the General Secretary downwards are all white. This means that in practice it is white supremacy in TUCSA.

TUCSA like other sections of the white working class has never shown solidarity with the aspirations of the African people or the struggles of the national liberation movement. At no time has TUCSA protested against the oppression of the voteless majority; at no time has it supported the liberal and radical demand for and extension of political rights or protested against the torture meted out to SACTU detainees and prisoners.

Thus the attempt to pass off TUCSA's counterfeit 'liberalism'as a sort of hopeful sign in South Africa is properly regarded as part of the world-wide campaign of international finance capitalism to justify their backing for the structure of white supremacy in Southern Africa. It must be seen and recognised for what it is.

'The only thing that saved South Africa from bankruptcy was an incredibly high R385 of capital abroad that underpinned total foreign reserves which at the end of June were down to R690m from R1,030 a year before' declared the S.A. *Financial Mail* (1 October 1971).

The peoples of Southern Africa, of Zimbabwe, Namibia, the Portuguese colonies and the Republic, are showing in no uncertain manner their repudiation of white minority rule and their determination to unite and fight it. That is their historic mission which they will discharge as surely as tomorrow's sun.

It is the duty of their friends abroad, especially in the imperialist countries, to *support* them in this fight – and to fight against their own monopoly capitalists whose investments in our country serve merely to enrich themselves and to buttress the evil regimes of race oppression and super-exploitation.

Georgi Dimitrov greets Dadoo in 1948

Tribute to Dimitrov

by YUSUF M. DADOO

On June 18th, 1972, the entire people of the People's Republic of Bulgaria will be joyously celebrating the 90th anniversary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov, their great son, leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party and a mighty pillar of the international Communist and workers' movement. The name of Dimitrov is indissolubly linked with the heroic struggles of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian working people against fascism and reaction, for the triumph of the people's democratic revolution and the building of a socialist Bulgaria. Glorious

and important as the date is for the Bulgarian people, it is, at the same time of no less significance for the Communist, working class and national liberation forces throughout the world.

At the time of Bram Fischer's trial in Pretoria and his great Statement in the dock on 28th March 1966, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party wrote a message of solidarity to the South African Party, declaring that 'we, Bulgarian Communists, were reminded of the heroic defence by Georgi Dimitrov' during the Reichstag Fire Trial at Leipzig in 1933.

No tribute could have been more inspiring and moving to Comrade Fischer, and to his fellow-revolutionaries. For all of us had long considered Dimitrov's defence and conduct in that trial as a brilliant model of revolutionary conduct before a fascist court. It was no accident that in the midst of the infamous South African Treason Trial (1956-61) a series of articles on the Reichstag Fire Trial was published in the Johannesburg journal *Liberation*, written by L. Bernstein, himself one of the accused, who wrote of Dimitrov that he 'had turned the allegation of arson back on the Nazi accusers and placed the government squarely in the dock' and 'drove Hitlerism to the pillory of world opinion.'

FORMIDABLE ENEMY OF FASCISM

One of Georgi Dimitrov's greatest contributions to the world and to the revolutionary labour movement was a correct and profound understanding of the nature of fascism and how to defeat it. Dimitrov's Report to the World Congress of the Communist International in 1935 marked a decisive historical turning-point in the orientation and policies of the international communist movement and went a long way in bringing about radical changes in the thinking, tactics and activities of many of the existing communist parties. It chalked out a creative Marxist-Leninist way for the creation and further development of the unity of all workers and the establishment of broad alliances of all democratic forces to combat and defeat the growing menace of fascism and war.

This report gave a most thorough characterisation of the social content and role of fascism in social development. Fascism was defined as an open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist, most aggressive imperialist forces of finance capital. It was

pointed out that the rise of fascism was the outcome of the extreme contradictions of capitalism in the period of deepening economic crisis and arose as a reaction to the revolutionary upsurge of the working people everywhere and the successes of the socialist system in the Soviet Union. He went on to draw the correct conclusion that 'the advent of fascism is not an ordinary replacement of one bourgeois government by another, but the replacement of one state form of the class domination of the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois democracy, by another form – the overt dictatorship'.

The report went on to make clear that fascism was intended to save the rotten capitalist system from its doom by means of the most unbridled counter-revolution, by means of brutal oppression of working class and all working people, the abolition of all their democratic gains, through an aggressive war against the Soviet Union and the destruction of the socialist system, by enslaving the freedom loving nations and depriving them of their national independence. *The world was brought to such a situation that fascism became the main obstacle in historical development and the defeat of fascism constituted the most important and primary task of the revolutionary movement in that period.*

On the basis of this report, the Communist International approved of the idea put forward by Dimitrov for the creation in every country of a popular anti-fascist front as a new form of the organisational unification and intensification of the activity and co-ordination of the actions of the workers, peasants, the intelligentsia and all the democratic forces for the struggle against fascism. This determined for a long time the strategy and tactics of the communist parties.

REPERCUSSIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In dealing with the question of the united anti-imperialist front, Dimitrov bitterly denounced sectarianism which had seeped through into the international communist movement in the early thirties as an evil which had the effect of isolating the Communists from the broad masses of the working people and proving an obstacle in the building of an anti-fascist, anti-imperialist front in the fight against fascism and war. The policy of a united anti-imperialist front adopted by the Seventh Congress made an invaluable contribution in the further progress and development of many communist parties including the

Communist Party of South Africa. At the time of the Seventh Congress, the CPSA was suffering from a severe set-back as a result of a dogmatic, sectarian line pursued by D.G. Wolton after his return to South Africa via Moscow at the end of 1930 armed with the status of a 'C.I.' representative. Under the guise of a 'serious right wing danger' many leading members of the Party including S.P. Bunting and W.H. Andrews, were summarily expelled. As A. Lerumo states in his recently published volume on the history of the CPSA, *Fifty Fighting Years,* 'a harshly intolerant, ultra-left period ensued in the leadership which cost the Party untold damage in membership and influence'. Lazar Bach who followed Wolton into the leadership when the latter finally left for Britain in 1933, continued the dogmatic, sectarian line by interpreting 'the independent Native republic' slogan not as a call for a national democratic revolution but as one for a socialist revolution. (Lerumo in *Fifty Fighting Years*). Bach was strongly challenged on this issue by M. Kotane – the present Secretary of the South African Communist Party – who demanded a united front policy. Kotane's view was supported by the majority of the membership.

The decisions of the 7th Congress, in the formulation of which Dimitrov together with such leaders of the Communist International as Manulsky, Togliatti, Thorez, Pieck, Thaelmann, Kuusinen, Gottwald, Codovilla, Pollitt and other theorists and politicians of the working class took an active and direct part, had a positive effect in ending the sectarian period in the Party in South Africa. Although the wounds took time to heal, the Party, taking to heart the clarion call of the Seventh Congress, directed its attention to the work and activities of its members in the trade union and liberation movements. It embarked upon bringing home to the workers and all democratic sections of the public the true nature of the fascist threat and the urgent need to mobilise against it. The period of isolation had come to an end and the new period of broad alliances against the dangers of fascism at home and abroad and for freedom, democracy and national liberation had begun.

A PERSONAL ENCOUNTER

Georgi Dimitrov, as all the world knows, had the vindication and joy of returning to lead the triumphant march of the Bulgarian people to

liberation and socialism following the overthrow of the fascist Axis in World War Two. But, despite the cares of state, his interest in world problems was keenly maintained. He highly esteemed the role and policy of the Communist Party of South Africa, as the writer of this article was to learn from him directly when he met him at the time of the fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party in Sofia at the end of 1948. It was a rare privilege to have a personal interview with this outstanding Leninist revolutionary leader of our time; a memorable experience for one to cherish and treasure.

Comrade Dimitrov showed a keen interest in the developments and struggles of the South African people, and a rare appreciation of the intricate problems of our country. On learning that I originated in a Moslem community in South Africa he proposed, and I gladly agreed, that I visit a region in Bulgaria inhabited by the Turkish minority, to see for myself the manner in which the people's government set about solving minority problems. I also took advantage of this visit to explain to these people the hardships and indignities suffered by the oppressed majority in South Africa.

When I met him, Comrade Dimitrov was far from well. His health had suffered particularly by his brutal experiences in the Nazi dungeon and he had not long to live. Yet his keen intelligence and fiery spirit were undimmed. He was in every sense a model revolutionary.

A TRUE COMMUNIST

Dimitrov was an embodiment of a true Communist – a life wholly and completely dedicated, an unswerving loyalty to Marxist-Leninist principles, a consistent Leninist, a determined opponent of dogmatism, set formulas and Right-wing opportunism, a creative thinker, a valuable contributor to the store-house of revolutionary theory and experience. He showed immense courage and daring in the face of adversity. He displayed an extraordinary ability to face dangers and endure hardships.

All his life he spent in revolutionary work; at fifteen he had joined the workers' revolutionary movement in Bulgaria, and at eighteen had become the secretary of the country's oldest trade union, the Print Workers Union. At the age of twenty, in 1902, he joined the Marxist wing of the Social Democratic Party and rose over the years to become a County Councillor, a member of the Bulgarian Communist Party and

General Secretary of the Central Committee of Bulgarian trade unions. There is no struggle of the working-class in this century with which the name of Georgi Dimitrov is not associated. In 1923, he headed an uprising against fascism – and was compelled to leave the country, being sentenced in absentia, to 15 years imprisonment. In exile, he linked his work with the Communist International.

During this period, first as secretary of the West European Bureau of the Comintern which guided 25 Communist parties and subsequently as the General Secretary until the dissolution of the Communist International in 1943, Dimitrov played a leading role in organising the unity of the working-class and inspiring a widespread international movement against imperialism and fascism and for peace and defence of the first workers state, the Soviet Union.

Special attention was paid to the question of the struggles for national liberation in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The Executive Committee of the Comintern in 1935 called for the setting-up of broadly based anti-imperialist fronts as the primary task of the Communist and revolutionary parties. The parties were advised to adopt the tactics of co-operation with national-reformist organisations, of a closer coalition with the national revolutionary parties for opposing imperialism, and at the same time to preserve without fail their organisational and political independence. 'To refuse to apply the united national front tactics under the pretext of avoiding the dangers that would inevitably appear in the wake of joint actions with the national bourgeoisie against imperialism,' the ECCI emphasised, 'is tantamount to refuse to take part in the preparation of national-liberation revolutions, and this inevitably leads to the isolation of the Communist Parties from the broad popular movement.' The correctness of the policy of the Comintern formulated by Dimitrov and other giants of the international communist movement who worked with him has been fully borne out by history. 'Communism', in the words of the Road to South African Freedom – the programme of the South African Communist Party – 'is the dynamic social and political force of our time'. The Socialist community, the international working-class and the national liberation movement constitute the decisive historical force of mankind in this period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

FOREMOST AN INTERNATIONALIST

In his thinking and all his revolutionary activities, Dimitrov was first and foremost an internationalist. He saw the revolutionary struggle of his country as well as the revolutionary struggle of each country as but a part and parcel of the revolutionary struggle on a world scale.

> **Proletarian internationalism, far from contradicting the struggle of the working people of individual countries for national, social and cultural freedom, provides, thanks to international proletarian solidarity and unity in struggle, the support needed for victory in this struggle.**

He did not see genuine patriotism as apart from proletarian internationalism. As he had said, 'there can be no genuinely popular patriotism without international solidarity any more than genuine international solidarity without genuinely popular patriotism'.

He saw at all times the need for the working-class to rally around the banner of the Party of Lenin, the CPSU as the sheet-anchor of the international communist and workers movement and around the Soviet Union, the first workers' state as the main bastion against imperialism and reaction. The sincerity and passion with which he believed in this, is the one thing which stands out vividly in my mind of that memorable, one and only meeting with him in 1948.

The conclusion that Dimitrov arrived at was that one's attitude to the Soviet Union is the principal criterion, the touchstone of the sincerity and honesty of every leader of the working-class movement, every workers' party or working people's organisation and every democrat. I believe that conclusion has as much, if not more, validity today than it had in his time.

Posing the question, 'Is Dimitrov's thesis that the attitude to the Soviet Union is a criterion of proletarian internationalism outdated?' Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in an article on the 90th anniversary of Dimitrov (*World Marxist Review – March*, 1972) has the following to say:

> **Far from being obsolete, it has gained in importance. To begin with, the Soviet Union is the embodiment of socialism and communism to**

hundreds of millions of people, to all friends and foes of peace. The allegiance of a country to the socialist world is gauged by how close it is to the Soviet Union's social system and home and foreign policy. It is an open secret that in some socialist countries there have been, and still are, serious nationalist trends. Not only do they encourage Right and "Left" -wing revisionism and endanger the socialist gains of the working people and the socialist development of these countries, but grow into anti-Sovietism and undermine the unity and cohesion of the socialist world system.

Secondly, attempts are made in the world Communist movement – under cover of the correct thesis about the autonomy and equality of Communist parties – to rob proletarian internationalism of its substance and meaning. Attacks against the "hegemony" of the CPSU show beyond doubt that Lenin's Party is the foremost ideological and political force of our time which plays the leading role in strengthening the cohesion of the international Communist movement and is the main obstacle to those who would like to divide the national contingents of the movement and set them against one another.

How far one can go in setting oneself against the CPSU and the Soviet Union is illustrated by the example of the Mao Tse-tung group. There could hardly be a more striking instance of betrayal of the cause of the international working class and one's own people than the degradation of this group, which has chosen nationalism and poses the Communist Party of China against the CPSU and the world Communist movement, and China against the socialist commonwealth, adopted an anti-Soviet position and has gone to the extreme of united action with the ruling imperialist quarters of the United States – the worst enemy of communism, the national liberation movement and human progress generally.

On this memorable occasion of the 90th anniversary of his birth the South African freedom fighters and patriots have good cause to honour the name of Georgi Dimitrov for the inspiration he had, by his courageous and heroic deeds in the fight against the dark forces of fascism, given to the national liberation movement in the bitter, life-and-death struggle against racial oppression and fascist apartheid tyranny. The South African Communists look back with pride on the immense and invaluable contributions he had made to the further development of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism in the thirties and the immediately following period of the Second World War; on the guidance he had provided for a proper understanding of the strategy

and tactics of the national democratic revolution in the conditons of that period – contributions which have proved of immeasurable value in the furtherance of the political and organisational work of the Party and in the proper prosecution of the South African revolution.

May 1972

political affairs

Monthly Journal of Marxist Thought and Analysis

Theoretical Journal of the Communist Party, USA

Annual subscription

$6.00 (USA) $7.00 (elsewhere)

From: Political Affairs, 23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y. 10010, USA

African goldmine worker underground
(Bronze by Anton van Wouw in Johannesburg Art Gallery)
(See article on p. 82)

Guinea fights for Independence

by ESKOR TOYO

At 2 am on November 22, 1970, mercenary troops landed in Guinea by sea with the mission of overthrowing the government of Sékou Touré. On November 27th fresh invaders arrived. The armed people of Guinea hurled themselves against the invaders with the determination worthy of a people intent on freedom.

It has now been confirmed by the United Nations investigating team that the invasion was, in actual fact, an act of aggression by Portugal. Associated with Portugal, of course, are the Ojukwus of Guinea. Nevertheless the invasion is clearly an imperialist act by the powers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), of which Portugal is a member.

Only an imbecile can entertain the notion that the invasion of Guinea is an act by Portugal alone, as a consequence of the support which Guineans have given to their kinsmen of Guinea-Bissau who are fighting for their own liberation from Portuguese colonialism. Yet this is the impression with which the NATO press and politicians want to stamp the event. Even if this were the whole story, however, Guinea's crime under Sékou Touré would be no worse than that of Nigeria, whose only crime in the eyes of Portuguese colonialism was her liberal contribution to the liberation fund of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), which was intended to aid freedom fighters in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia and eventually South Africa.

But the truth is that Portugal is not acting alone nor only in the company of disgruntled Guineans. Here, as elsewhere, Portugal is only playing her assigned role in Africa as the hangman of NATO imperialism. As the Secretary of the OAU, M. Diallo Telli, pointed out, the invasion of Guinea is the handiwork of NATO. Sékou Touré himself has asserted this. He affirmed that 'the participation of the United States in this affair is substantial' (*Le Monde*, Paris, 10, December 1970), adding that France, Great Britain, West Germany, Israel and South Africa provided 'important military aid to Portugal to enable her to pursue her colonial war'. (*Ibid.*)

There can be no doubt that the Government of that intrepid African revolutionary statesman, Ahmed Sékou Touré, has been a source of chagrin to imperialism for a long time. They have long been bent on disposing of him, just as they got rid of Patrice Lumumba. The record of semicolonial imperialism since the 19th century and its more recent neocolonial manifestation in the Congo, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, Indonesia and elsewhere demonstrates that imperialism cannot be expected to rest as long as a government rules in Guinea that is not prepared to bow to the dictates of NATO investors and policy-makers.

We are on the threshold of critical events in Guinea. Africa and the world are entitled to know the facts about the tussle between imperialism and the Guinean people.

What then are the crimes of Sékou Touré and Guinea? The crime of Sékou Touré is that he is a patriot. The crime of Guinea is that, like Katanga, she is rich in vital minerals: she is as rich in iron ore and bauxite as eastern Nigeria is in mineral oil.

Guinea gained independence in 1958. In a referendum organised by the de Gaulle regime in September of that year, Guinea was the only former French colony to vote for total independence and exclusion from the then-proposed French Community – counterpart of the British Commonwealth but with closer association with France. It was a vote that echoed throughout the world and profoundly affected the subsequent development of French-speaking Africa. On October 2, 1958, Guinea was formally declared independent.

Guinea is a small country whose size and level of development can be seen in the following comparative indicators of positions in 1965 – that is, before the Nigerian coup.

Country	Population (millions)	Area (thousand sq. km)	Annual Income Per Capita ($)	Annual Energy Consumption Per Capita (kw)
United States	174.1	7704	3550	8722
France	45.0	551	1920	2933
Nigeria	56.7	924	80	38
Guinea	3.9	246	80	–

Guinea's principal products are rice, palm oil, palm kernels, bananas, coffee, pineapples, groundnuts, millet, iron ore and bauxite. She exports all these products except rice and millet. In 1955, just before independence, she exported 50,000 metric tons of iron ore per month and 39,000 metric tons of bauxite. By 1968, however, she was exporting 176,000 metric tons per month of bauxite.

Iron ore, copper and bauxite are the most important industrial metals. The industrial uses of iron are manifold. Copper is chiefly used in the electrical industry. Even in this use, however, it is being challenged by aluminium, which is found in bauxite. The advantage of aluminium is that it has many other industrial uses, such as in aircraft manufacturing, in the manufacture of building materials and prefabricated buildings, in the making of light metal alloys or in the manufacture of a wide range of consumer durables. Consequently, there is an aluminium craze.

Guinea is potentially the richest of the French-speaking countries in West Africa. Formerly her iron ore exports were from a deposit near Conakry, the capital, worked by British and French interests. Now it has been found that Mount Nimba contains one of the largest and richest iron ore deposits in the world. It contains known deposits of 25 million tons.

Now, what are the interests of the United States and the NATO powers in Guinea?

First although the United States has a very large reserve of iron ore, this is becoming more and more costly to work as easier deposits are being exhausted. Second, the price of crude iron has been so artificially

inflated by the monopolies in the United States that that country is now a net importer. For many years US iron ore interests have dug into the Labrador deposits in Canada and the Brazilian and Venezuela deposits in Latin America. They are now bent on snatching the Nimba deposits at all costs.

Engaged in keen competition for these deposits are an American group, the US Steel Corporation, a Japanese group, the Kinoshita Shoten, a Euro-American group embracing the Geological Research Bureau of France, CECA, British Iron and Steel and Bethlehem Steel, and a European group, the Centrafrique Bank Consortium, created in July 1956, which comprises the Bank of Indochina, the German Bank, the Bank of Brussels, the Hambro Bank of London and Netherlands Handelsmatshppij Bank. About ten years ago the Centrafique Consortium won a concession for the exploitation for 75 years of the Mount Nimba deposits but the other monopoly groups are still claiming their share of the Guinean booty.

As for bauxite, the following table shows Guinea's position among world bauxite producers in recent years (in thousands of metric tons per month).

BAUXITE PRODUCTION

	1966	1967	1968
Australia	152	354	413
Guayana	279	290	296
France	234	234	226
Guinea	134	137	176
Hungary	119	137	163
Greece	115	140	147
Dominican Republic	68	71	84
Brazil	21	25	26
Ghana	29.	29	24
Haiti	34	31	–

The following table shows world production of aluminium (or world consumption of bauxite) in 1955 in percentages.

ALUMINIUM PRODUCTION (1955 Percentages)

USA	47	Norway	2
Canada	19	Italy	2
USSR	12	Japan	2
West Germany	5	Austria	2
France	4	Others	5

It will be observed that although the United States and her NATO allies are by far the largest importers of bauxite (apart from the Soviet Union with only 12) they are not themselves producers of bauxite, with the exception of France which produces an insignificant quantity of aluminium.

There are two bauxite deposits in Guinea: one at Kinda and a larger one at Boké. A Western source reports:

> The Americans, despite discouragement, have hung on in Guinea, partly for the sake of the aluminium project at Boké, in which they are extremely interested, and have provided a $22 million loan [. . .] to complement the $64 million World Bank loan. The peace Corps are back at half their previous strength.

One source of annoyance to the NATO powers is Sékou Touré's open door policy toward socialist countries. On November 24, 1969, Guinea signed an agreement with the Soviet Union which will permit Guinea, with Soviet help, to develop the Kinda bauxite deposits on her own, thus enabling her to repay her external debts and gain relative independence from foreign coercion. In that way not only is the Kinda deposit lost to the aluminium sharks of world imperialism, but also, in a few years Guinea will be in a position to challenge other interests of world finance capital in the country.

Nor is that all. The Soviet Union is helping Guinea build a dam over the Konkouré river. Such projects as dams and railways, as all developing countries know, are major projects involving millions of pounds of revenue for capitalist construction firms. The 'loss' of such projects to the Soviet Union or China is something the construction monopolies of the capitalist world cannot tolerate. In their own minds they have a

natural right to such projects in Africa, Asia and Latin America, as innumerable reports in their industrial and technical journals clearly indicate. The Russians are also renovating the railway at Kinda, and the Chinese are doing so from Kinda to Kankan.

What is more, since her independence, Guinea has been at swords' point with France. One of the flies in the ointment is that France is in debt to Guinea. The bulk of the debt, 9 billion francs, is for war veterans' pensions.

The imperialist conspiracy against Guinea has not been much of a secret. In 1965 the present writer read a Canadian report in French revealing that the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had completed plans to overthrow Kwame Nkrumah in 1966, and that after him would come Sékou Touré, for which French imperialism was also working overtime. Nkrumah fell in February 1966. Whatever the errors of the Nkrumah regime, its fall was certainly not unconnected with the vast bauxite deposits near the Volta in which certain American millionaires were vitally interested. The bauxite scheme, which was the diamond in the crown of the then current Ghanaian development plan and a focus of attention of world finance capitalism, was financed in part by private US companies. In a similar way the enormous iron ore and bauxite wealth of Guinea is now both the great hope of the Guineans themselves and the focal point of industrial and financial interests in NATO countries.

The sum total of the Guinean situation is that the NATO powers find their interests greatly threatened by the progressive and patriotic policies of the Sékou Touré regime and they will go to all lengths to replace him with some other Guinean leader more subservient to their schemes.

POLICY OF INDEPENDENCE

Armed intervention in Guinea has elicited comments from several African leaders. Among these one of the most important is that of Siaka Stevens, Prime Minister of Sierra Leone. He said:

> We have a different way of doing things in Sierra Leone; but we never have the same trouble with you British as Sékou Touré had with the French. We don't think Sékou Touré is very sensible with

> his economic policies – he is taking things too far, nationalising everything. [. . .] On the other hand he has done things that none of us have really done – given his people a real identification and pride in their country, a national awareness and commitment which is absolutely necessary if we are to be successful.
>
> (*Guardian*, Britain, December 7, 1970.)

This statement is studded with interesting points relevant to the situation in Guinea.

First, Guinea pursues a policy of independence.

Second, this policy meets with the determined and often open antagonism of French imperialism.

Third, the policy of independence has implied the courageous nationalisation of French monopoly enterprises.

Fourth, this policy of independence is at variance with that of many other African leaders and regimes which actually practice nothing more than neocolonialism.

Last, no regime in West Africa has had the same trouble with the British as Guinea has had with the French. But this is not because British imperialism is better behaved, as Siaka Stevens may suppose. It is simply because no West African leader, not even Nkrumah, has so far stood up to British monopoly enterprise as Sékou Touré has to French monopoly investments.

As to the last point, it must be said that we cannot eat our cake and have it in these matters. If we want independence and 'real identification and pride' in our country, on the part of our people, this inescapably involves the nationalisation of capitalist monopoly investments, because they compromise our independence and identity. If we are not prepared to do this then we must stop dreaming of independence and of wanting our people to feel identification and pride in a regime that sacrifices their dignity for mere convenience or even self-interest. Whether Sékou Touré has taken things 'too far' in this respect the reader himself can judge.

As we have seen, Guinea was the only country to vote for complete independence from France in the de Gaulle referendum of 1958. This vote and the Algerian and Viet Nam wars of independence eventually defeated French imperialism's efforts to preserve the French empire behind a new facade. Other African countries opted for independence

in one form or other, and the proposed 'French Community' withered away.

The French colonialists were so angered by the Guinean vote that they withdrew their personnel and whatever else they could take with them from the country. Even pensions owed to Guinean veterans of the Second World War who fought for de Gaulle were not paid. It will be recalled that French colonialists and settlers treated Algeria similarly. The French fancied that the new regimes in Guinea and Algeria would collapse and the patriots would come on their knees, begging them to return. But nothing of the sort happened. Rather in both Guinea and Algeria the abandoned enterprises were nationalised, and both countries started on the arduous but sure and honourable road of self-reliance.

It is not that the Guineans are rich and can afford self-reliance better than other African countries. Far from it. The following table showing average annual per capita national income in dollars in various regions of the world and in West Africa in 1963-65 indicates Guinea's position.

PER CAPITA INCOME (1963-65) US$

World Areas		West Africa			
Western Europe	1605	Ghana	230	Gambia	90
Socialist Europe	1075	Ivory Coast	220	Dahomey	80
Latin America	345	Liberia	210	Guinea	80
Africa	165	Senegal	210	Niger	80
Asia	140	Sierra Leone	150	Nigeria	80
		Mauritania	130	Mali	60
		Togo	100	Upper Volta	50

It can be seen clearly that even among West African countries, one of the least developed regions of the world, Guinea is one of the poorest. Unpatriotic leaders and regimes are inclined to blame their servility and cowardice on the poverty and smallness of their countries. Cuba and Viet Nam have exploded the lie; so has Guinea.

To be sure, the known mineral deposits of Guinea include limestone, bauxite, gold, diamonds, iron, manganese, titanium, cobalt, nickel,

chrome, zinc, copper, graphite, asbestos, radioactive minerals and high-quality granite. Even in fabulous Africa one has to go to Katanga to find another area as rich in minerals as the Futa Djallon system which forms the backbone of Guinea. Besides, the country is rich in sources of hydroelectric power. Small as she is, therefore, Guinea has the potentiality for industrialisation. Yet 80% of the people live on the land. The policy of the Guinean regime has aimed at changing this situation fundamentally.

Owing partly to her patriotic dissociation from France, Guinea had to learn early the lesson of self-reliance. She led West Africa in the proportion of her national income devoted to productive investment as distinct from conspicuous consumption, luxury products, disproportionate administrative expenditure and the like. She led this region also in the creation of an independent national currency.

Soon after independence, Guinea put in operation the Three-Year Plan (1960-63). The object was a decisive and rapid switchover from an economy based on colonial dependence to an independent and planned national development. The strategy at this stage was to bring aid to the peasantry. The plan, therefore, concentrated on building dispensaries, schools and an administrative infrastructure. Some light industries were also established at this stage.

SEVEN-YEAR PLAN

The next stage was launched with the Seven-Year Plan (June 1964-June 1971). The aim is to enable the economy to 'take off'. This is the most crucial stage in all economic development; it is also the most difficult, as all economic planners know. If the economy is not to stagger along at the *laissez-faire* pace characteristic of client capitalism in, say, Latin America, then there will have to be heavy investments in raw materials and infrastructural bases such as mines, dams, factory buildings, ports, and railways, which take a long time to yield their benefits. At the same time, even if factories are established – and many have been in Guinea – they may save foreign exchange but cannot as yet make much in the way of profits. Guinea is at this stage and all sorts of people are exploiting the difficulties of the country.

And if 'take off' is not going to be take off into capitalism, corruption and dependence on the imperialist powers, then it must

take off into socialism and real independence, as is being attempted in Cuba, Congo-Brazzaville, Egypt, Algeria and, more recently, Chile.

The policy of independence and 'noncapitalist development' has been put into effect in Guinea partly by the nationalisation of large commercial enterprises, state monopoly of foreign trade, creation of a state bank, creation of a national currency, creation of a national insurance company, nationalisation of large transport establishments, and creation of other financial, administrative and commercial institutions.

If one is looking for a reliable indicator of independence and socialist development, however, one should ask who owns the new mines and the growing manufacturing industries.

Conakry has 17 new factories. Of these, the vehicle assembly plant and the furniture factory are owned jointly by the state and certain foreign interests (Yugoslavia in the case of the furniture works). The rest are state-owned. Apart from these a granite quarry, a textile complex, a tobacco and match factory, a bicycle factory and plants for fruit juice, aluminium and quinine – to name only a few – have been established outside Conakry. The aluminium and fruit juice enterprises are jointly owned with foreign interests, while the others are state-owned.

Industry such as the above has also been established in other African countries since 1958, of course, but in the case of Nigeria, for instance, it belongs almost exclusively to foreign monopoly capitalist interests.

The policy of real independence being pursued by Guinea is perhaps best grasped – as Siaka Stevens rightly understands – by comparing it with the policy of collaboration and subservience pursued so far by many African countries. It is sufficient to examine French-speaking Africa.

By January 1970 the FED (Fonds Européen de Développement) created by the six European Common Market countries had invested in 347 projects and programmes in the 18 African and Malagasy states associated with the Market and the 13 other associated countries – 12 former French colonies and one former Italian. Two funds were created, the first for the period 1958-63 and the second for 1964-69. The distribution of the funds among development projects was as follows:-

	1st Fund		2nd Fund	
	$'000	%	$'000	%
Rural development	143,797	24.8	316,688	45.2
Infrastructure	255,986	44.0	247,791	35.4
Education	155,253	19.9	62,263	9.7
Health	51,241	8.8	28,540	4.0
Energy	4,140	0.7	24,457	3.5
Various	10,833	1.8	15,282	2.2
Total	621,250	100.0	695,021	100.0

Manufacturing is included under the heading "Various". The little attention paid to it and to energy development as against agricultural raw material exports – so-called "rural development" – is self-evident. It is a typically neocolonial policy.

Of the investments, the associated territories in Africa received by far the lion's share, reflecting the fact that, with the United States dominating the Latin-American countries and with Asia consumed in revolutionary flames, Africa remains the last stand of West European imperialism. The share of Africa in the First Fund was $474,550,000 and in the Second Fund $634,714,000.

It is interesting to note the largest recipients:

	1st Fund	2nd Fund
Cameroon	52,798	53,166
Congo-Kinshasa	19,593	74,389
Ivory Coast	36,644	57,173
Madagascar	56,265	70,226
Senegal	43,831	60,400

It will be seen that Congo-Kinshasa received substantial investments only after Patrice Lumumba and his supporters had been removed from the scene. Furthermore, till recently, as the press widely reported, Ivory Coast and Senegal were the haven of those intent on removing Sékou Touré. Further still, the investments of FED in each of 16

recipient territories increased substantially in the second period. Only for Congo-Brazzaville and Mali did the investments decline, and substantially too, as follows:-

	1st Fund	2nd Fund
Congo-Brazzaville	25,036	20,686
Mali	42,023	33,089

Guinea, of course, is conspicuously absent. Apart from Guinea, as everyone knows, the only former colonies of European Common Market countries in Africa pursuing a policy of economic independence and inclination towards socialism are Congo-Brazzaville and pre-coup Mali. It may be added that, of the five countries that received heavy investments, Madagascar is a rich source of uranium for NATO bombs, and the funds actually went to develop the uranium deposits; and Félix Moumié had to be murdered to pave the way for 'safe' investments in Cameroon.

Of late the imperialists have been making a lot of noise about the Guinean economy 'showing signs of stagnation'. They wrote similarly during the last year of Nkrumah's regime when the heavy investments in slow-yielding nationally-owned projects, necessary to independence, created an inevitable hardship. The imperialist press now reports that Ghana is leading West Africa in the export of manufactured goods. What they will not do is credit this achievement to the policy of revolutionary courage and sacrifice which made it possible.

POLITICS AND INVASION

Since independence the Parti Démocratique Guinéen (PDG), the party which Sékou Touré leads, has been pursuing politics based visibly on a five-pronged programme:

(a) establishing and consolidating a popular one-party state;
(b) the firm repudiation of any interference in the internal affairs of the country by any state;
(c) an open and practical renunciation of the capitalist road for

Guinea and a cautious leading of the country toward the path of socialist development;

(d) unwavering and forthright backing of the cause of African liberation, armed or unarmed;

(e) broad, enthusiastic support for world revolution against imperialism in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Naturally, in many circles, such a policy cannot be pleasing.

Her one-party policy, however popular it may be with the people, is anathema to reactionaries and decadent liberal intellectuals who pretend that the two-party or multiparty form of rule is necessarily the very hallmark of democracy, no matter what depravities and frivolities it makes possible.

The Western powers are openly antagonistic to the patriotic independent policy of the country, while some of the leaders of her French-speaking neighbours have, in the past, shown signs of uneasiness about the contagious effect of such a policy in their own masses.

Compared with Nigeria, Guinea hardly has a class that can be called capitalist, but the fact that capitalists are initially absent from a country does not mean that there is also an absence of traders and state bureaucrats who would like to become capitalists at all costs and by any means. Theories of African classlessness often make a profound mistake on this score. The desire to become capitalists on the part of those who stand a chance of so becoming is often no less powerful a political force than the desire of those who are already capitalists to remain so. Guinea is in a position where this ambition for evolution into capitalists is very strong among a host of Guinean businessmen and bureaucrats. The more firmly PDG policy has slammed the door of capitalist development in their face the more bitter has been their antagonism to the regime.

What is more, some traditional chiefs of Guinea, former instruments of French colonial rule, enjoyed traditional and colonial privileges over the local peasantry which now they are most reluctant to see pass away. That these privileges be swept away to free the wheels of progress is the determination of the PDG, which has been translating its policy into action. Again it does not matter that these privileges of a dead past are not of the same order of magnitude as those of the Pashas and Beys of the Arab world or the Maharajas of India.

Traditional privileges, however small by international comparisons, are not considered unworthy of defence by the local orders that enjoy them.

Consequently, Guinea's road of socialist development has many enemies: mainly the tribalists, pretenders to a capitalist road, and the Uncle Toms of Guinean origin on the one hand, and world monopoly capitalism on the other.

Similarly Guinea's policy of support for rebellion against colonialism in Africa must mark the regime for certain destruction by those who want to remove all centres of even mildly radical resistance to imperialism on the continent. Whether the Guinean leaders are aware of it themselves or not, support for continental or world revolution always means that one must be ready oneself for the inevitable armed assault of imperialism and its associates against the partisans or supporters of such a policy.

Any country that wants to establish socialism must create a military force ready to defend the people and the country's policy against the conspiracies of capitalists at home and abroad. To do this and at the same time avoid the heavy cost of expanding the regular army, patriotic regimes have adopted the formula of creating a militia educated for patriotism and against imperialism. Without such a militia it would have been impossible for the patriotic regime in Cuba to resist US pressures and defeat armed interventions. Guinea, therefore, created such a militia.

This step has also enabled some sections of the regular army to be released from armed service and, to quote a Western source, 'deployed in worthy nation-building tasks like running a shoe factory, farming and building schools'. In October 1969, all soldiers became civil servants and could move or be transferred to any section of the public service.

There can be no doubt that such a policy enables a small country like Guinea – beset by powerful enemies and much poorer in trained personnel than, for instance, Nigeria – to cut down the cost of maintaining a large army mobilised. At the same time the country has a working reserve which can be mobilised in an emergency. In the meantime the sounder and more disciplined training of some of the military personnel can be turned to good account in the immense construction work facing the country. This can be especially helpful

in countries where the public service is not free from corruption or red tape, a situation characteristic of all underdeveloped countries.

Reflect for a moment on the work Colonel Adekunle did recently on the Nigerian docks: cutting his way in military fashion through red tape, relieving the Lagos docks in a matter of weeks of scandalous and disastrous overcrowding, and saving millions of pounds, to the surprise of Nigeria and the world.

But this patriotic policy in Guinea is grist to the malicious mill of imperialist propaganda. In their eyes, this practice leads to 'emasculation of the army'. They have sought by such characterisation to stir up disaffection in the Guinean army.

In March 1969 there was a plot organised by a group of officers and involving a Colonel Kaman Diaby. Prior to this, there had been other plots.

GUINEAN 'EXILES'

The imperialist press has sought to attribute the invasion of Guinea to so-called Guinean 'exiles'. A Western source, however, reports: 'The vast majority of expatriate Guineans (possibly over a million are spread through Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Senegal) are economic refugees who still say they admire Sékou Touré' This was confirmed by Prime Minister Siaka Stevens himself in a conversation with a British journalist:

> Oh, yes, Sékou Touré has opposition – particularly from the Fula and the Sousa. They have always been traders and they didn't like Sékou Touré's nationalisation of all the trading – that's why many of them have come to live in Sierra Leone. But they still like him. Did you hear about the demonstration here in Freetown? – 6000 Guineans demonstrated in support of Sékou Touré.

In all probability the vast majority of Guineans living abroad are no more refugees than the Nigerian 'economic refugees' who were living in Ghana and who recently made the headlines. It is certain that they admire and are loyal to the regime of Sékou Touré and the PDG.

That cannot be said of all expatriate Guineans, however. There exists a microscopic minority of disgruntled elite elements – the

Ojukwus and Tshombés of Guinea. A few elements of this fraternity have been mentioned by name by the Western press. Among Guinean politicians who have gone into exile, for instance, the most notable is the former Guinean ambassador to France, Nabi Youla. It is reported that 'he was last heard of in Abidjan, capital of the Ivory Coast Republic, and a broadcast on Radio Conakry names him as one of the three dissidents involved in organising the invasion'.

The so-called National Liberation Front is the opposition movement to President Sékou Touré. Before the invasion, Conakry Radio announced that one Thierno-Habib Diallo, commander of the army of the National Liberation Front, was recruiting Guineans living abroad to establish an army for the Front. Servicemen were being recruited for 10,000 francs. One group of 20 had been installed on Guinea's border with Guinea-Bissau and Senegal and another of the same number on Guinea's frontier with Liberia and the Ivory Coast.

The imperialist press pretended not to believe the Conakry Radio report. Even after the invasion had been launched, only eye witness accounts, the death of two German diplomats in the fighting and the verdict of the United Nations team compelled them to admit grudgingly that there had been an attack. However, they now say that the invasion was merely a 'raid', and their view of the aims of this 'raid' is stated in the London *Economist* (November 28, 1970):

> The pattern of the raid indicates that it had a limited objective and was probably not an attempt to overthrow President Sékou Touré's government. The raiders [. . .] concentrated on the prison in Conakry and it seems they succeeded in freeing a number of Guinean political prisoners and several Portuguese soldiers captured in raids on Portuguese Guinea. The second objective was the headquarters of the African Party for Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC). [. . .] There are enough disgruntled and exiled Guineans in Portuguese Guinea and in other neighbouring states to launch such an attack.

But even *The Economist* had to add: 'But it is doubtful whether they could have raised the money without outside backing.'

As for the aims of the attack, there is no doubt as to what the purpose was: it was clearly to capture the capital in a surprise blow and

overthrow the government of Sékou Touré. The imperialists are no fools and have learned their lessons from the Congo and Nigerian wars. Their conclusion would be something like this: to launch an attack from a remote province on a government you wish to overthrow gives that government the advantage of time to mobilise, a main port, internal communications, economic and political cohesion and other military and political advantages, chief of which is morale; a quick and successful blow on the capital would deny the government all these advantages, eliminate any centre of organised resistance and effect the immediate collapse of the regime, without a costly and protracted patriotic war.

The present writer visited Conakry in 1963. Unlike Lagos, for instance, Conakry is highly vulnerable to attack from the sea. These facts explain why the invasion was launched first and foremost on Conakry. The attack on Conakry could also have been diversionary – to permit easier penetration elsewhere, and this was actually attempted.

It is noteworthy that the imperialists have dropped several remarks which seek to shift responsibility for the attack from themselves not only to 'Guinean exiles' but to the African states neighbouring Guinea. *The Economist*, for instance, writes: 'But last year the Guinean president saw the hands of France, Mali, Senegal and Ivory Coast in plots against his regime. The field for speculation is wide open.' It turns out well for the African states adjacent to Guinea and for the African people that those on whose heads imperialism sought to wipe its bloody hands, quickly and unequivocally destroyed any grounds for speculation by themselves condemning the invasion and naming its actual perpetrators.

Take, for instance, Liberia. The correspondent, Jonathan Power, writes:

> President Tubman deeply shocked the large American diplomatic community in his country when, in a speech marking his seventy-fifth birthday, a week after the Guinea invasion, he said of the Americans: 'Whatever they do or write they cannot change the desires or opinions of the Liberian people. They can do so only by using the bullet.' He then went on to explain that that was just what the Americans were doing in Indochina.

As soon as Guinea was attacked, General Gowon of Nigeria and the Egyptian Government offered immediate military help, and African states rallied in an unprecedented way. The comments of the Western press show that they do not like General Gowon's offer and wonder when he will dissolve his mobilised army of 200,000 battle-ready soldiers. The reason why well-known circles sought the disintegration of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is now obvious.

As for the African support, this has taken imperialism by surprise and in order to mislead the world, as usual, they attribute it to the respect Sékou Touré has earned personally for what they call his 'individuality', his ability to 'mend his fences', etc. No doubt the nonchauvinistic African policy of Sékou Touré has earned much respect and positively helps to expose imperialism and effect the unity of the African people against it. But the real cause of the African response lies in Viet Nam, Rhodesia, Southern Africa, the Congo, Nigeria, and latest of all Sierra Leone, October 1970, where the American neocolonialists were caught red-handed with documents in a nefarious plot to overthrow the government of Siaka Stevens.

Our experience so far has a lesson to teach. Among the enemies of Africa, not the least are politicians and intellectuals to whom any talk of imperialism or neocolonialism is nothing but communist shibboleth. Such persons see all developments as tribalistic or false individualistic spectacles, which makes them conscious or unconscious collaborators with imperialism when they happen to be in charge of public affairs in their respective countries. In order to free themselves, the African people must understand the working of imperialism, and in order to understand imperialism, African leaders and intellectuals must undertake a scientific study of it. Mere patriotic emotions are not enough, and the type of education one gets from universities in Western Europe or the United States tends to offer one blinkers rather than a telescope.

The invasion of Guinea to overthrow the regime of Sékou Touré, like armed secession in eastern Nigeria, is but a variation of the politics of colonialism, no matter what mask it may choose to wear. The African people must so prepare themselves intellectually and physically that no matter when, where or in what guise imperialism may choose to operate, they see it for what it is, mobilise themselves, and smash it.

Ahmed Kathrada, Communist Rivonia trialist now serving life imprisonment on Robben Island, once refused a gift of gold shares sufficient to ensure his livelihood from the dividends. He explained that to live off such an income would negate all his political activity, since the exploitation of the African miners was the foundation of the apartheid system.

World Capitalism, Gold and South Africa

by A. BAKAYA

In 'The Crisis of the World Capitalist Economy' (*African Communist* No. 48, 1972) Palme Dutt indicated the importance of gold in the capitalist international finance structure, which in essence is that the exchange of commodities amongst capitalist nations has historically been and continues to be effected through the medium of the commodity, gold. To fulfil its token role, gold has to have a constant value which in 1934 was fixed by the United States at $ 35 per ounce. The economic strength of the USA has always been reflected in its gold stores and after the second world war her gold holdings were the basis for the dollar's becoming the capitalist world's major reserve currency. This shift to a gold-paper currency finance system for international trade did not detract from the importance of gold in the system. Though world trade, after the second world war was re-oriented from the gold standard to the gold and dollar standard, the assumption of the national paper currency of the US as the major reserve currency of the capitalist world, had not replaced gold. It still retained an important part in international financing. The illogicality is that the commodity must not be priced according to the capitalist 'law' of

supply and demand. The international monetary crisis and the devaluation of the dollar in 1971 has re-focussed attention on the importance of gold.

The complex agreements for a paper credit system for international trade by the capitalist powers was arranged through the International Monetary Fund which had also established the dollar as a reserve currency in 1944. These paper manipulations tended to blur the fact that gold is still the underlying basis for the paper credits system.

The problem about gold in international trade is that in the last two decades gold supplies have not been sufficient to keep up with the fourfold increase in the volume of international trade. The supply of gold in the capitalist world cannot be kept up at the price set 37 years ago while in the same period the cost of most goods has increased threefold on average. That the USA was forced to increase the price of gold from $ 35 to $ 38 per ounce in December 1971 and thereby devalue the dollar does not alter the fact that gold is still underpriced in terms of world prices of commodities.

Like that of any other commodity the value of the gold is that of the labour that has gone into its production. But the money price of the commodity increases with the inflation-prone process in the capitalist monetary system which is reflected in the increase in the price of goods. The vast discrepancy between the price of gold and other goods in this period is a glaring paradox, but it nevertheless influences the production process.

Two facts are worth emphasising:

1. South Africa provides 76 per cent of the western world's gold resources.

2. The January-October 1971 South African trade figures show that gold constituted 36 per cent of the total export earnings of R1978.6 million. The trade figures for this period also showed a deficit in the balance of payments.

The vital role of gold to the capitalist world's international trade arrangements and also to the South African economy has profound socio-political and economic consequences for South Africa as the major supplier of this commodity for the western world. That both the international monetary system and the South African economy should

be in difficulty ought not to be surprising but unlike the patching-up function that the small increase in the price of gold (devaluation of the dollar) will have for the US economy, the South African economy cannot be similarly rescued since the minute increase in the price of gold is off-set by the devaluation of the Rand. South Africa's imports will cost more while, because of the nature of its exports, it will not benefit in the competitive export market.

The necessity for an adequate supply of gold to proportionately match the increased volume of world trade traps the South African economy into producing at a price fixed 37 years ago. The fixed price for gold in an inflationary economy aggravates the contradiction between the workers and the capitalists since the demand for increases in wages to meet the need for life's necessities cannot be endlessly avoided.

South Africa's supply of gold at a constant price is achieved through the brutal exploitation of the African worker in its colonial type system of production relations. The average wage of an African miner is £102 per annum with a further £100 per annum being spent on his physical maintenance while he is actually employed on the mines. The families of the miners are expected to survive on the relatively static and increasingly inadequate £100 per annum wage. On the other hand the salaries of the white miners have increased along with increasing inflationary processes and now stand, on average, at £2,000 per annum. The semi-slave contract labour and compound system is the price of the static price of gold. Since the African mineworker's wage is the pivot on which all South Africa's non-white workers' wages revolve, the poverty of the non-white working person and his family increases as the inflationary process proceeds. There is a notorious gap between the wages of black and white workers in our country. There is an abnormal discrepancy, over and above this, between the wages earned by Africans in the mines and those in manufacturing industry. The semi-slave production relations on the mines is directly tied to the capitalist monetary system's reliance on gold.

The widening gap in the earning ratios between African and white workers in the last 5 years (from 5.1:1 to 5.7:1 in manufacturing and from 17.5:1 to more than 20:1 in mining) indicates that Africans bear the brunt of increasing impoverishment in inflationary situations and incidentally exposes the falsity of the claim of increasing liberalisation

as the economy develops. The paradox and dilemma for South Africa is that the economy cannot grow at a normal pace since being suppliers of gold at its present low price pins the growth of the economy in general. Thus it is also predicted that South Africa's annual growth rate for the next 30 years will be in the region of 4.5 per cent as opposed to the 7 per cent in 1970, and the desired 5.5 per cent growth rate per annum to keep the present balance. (*Rand Daily Mail* 29 June 1971.)

If we look at the estimates of realistic gold prices of $ 100 and $ 175 per ounce made by the economists, Sir Roy Harrod and the Frenchman, Reuss, respectively (cited by Palme Dutt) we see more clearly the link between the poverty of our people and imperialism's fixed gold price. Harrod's price if passed on to the workers, would bring the wages of Africans in mining and industry roughly on par while Reuss's value would eliminate the discrepancy in ratios between African and white workers. These theoretical 'realistic prices' are thus a guide to the general market value of labour (at which level white worker wages are) under capitalist production relations in a capitalist 'democracy'. The question is whether the whites will accept a drop in their standard of living? Political moans amongst the whites in Africa is a contra-indication to this, but highlights white South Africa's dilemma. The high returns on investment in mining and increasing foreign investments even at the preposterously low world price of gold spotlights imperialism's many-sided gains from the tyrannical exploitation of the African worker.

This stranglehold grip on the South African economy that compels South Africa to turn out gold at the fixed price restricts political manouvres by the South African regime. From the most uneconomical ore in the world and from the greatest depths of the earth, South Africa is forced to increase the quantity of its gold output. The increased gold production has come from mechanisation which in turn adds to South Africa's balance of payments problem. The almost doubled value of imports in the last 10 years is mainly made up of capital goods and it is these increased imports that has led to the balance of payments deficits. Gold mining, therefore, rather than being a blessing to the South African economy is a millstone round its neck.

The exploitation of the African in the mining industry spreads beyond the confines of South Africa since miners are 'recruited' from

the Portuguese-controlled colonies of Mozambique and Angola; from Smith's Rhodesia; from Malawi and the former protectorates of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland and of course about 40 per cent of the force is South African from the reserves, now politely called territorial homelands. South Africa in order to survive is therefore also compelled to bear the strain of maintaining 'political stability' in these areas.

The tie up between American determination to dominate the imperialist world and gold producing South Africa explains America's motivation for intervening in and propping up the South African regime in 1960 when it was tottering under the pressure of the mass political action led by the ANC. The threat to the continued supply of cheap gold challenged one of its foundations as dominant imperialist nation. American and South African collaboration since 1960 is not only confined to the dollars pumped into the country, since coinciding with the pouring in of dollars is the era of undisguised and ruthless repression of our people by the Vorster regime. Imperialism's self interest has no dividing line from its political immorality.

The South African economy has other strong colonial overtones in it. 42 per cent of exports in 1971 were made up of raw materials and agricultural products which are very sensitive to price fluctuations on the world market. The record balance of payments deficits as well as the mere 4 per cent increase in 1971, in gross domestic products as compared to the 5½ per cent target show the seriousness of its lapsing economy. White South Africa's self-interest and the burden of its role as gendarme for imperialism in southern Africa has put its economy balancing on a tight rope. The tyrannical, Apartheid system is the synthesised political structure for the super-exploitation of our people. There is no way out of the morass for white South Africa. In its subservient role as an instrument of imperialism, white South Africa paradoxically finds itself operating against its self-interest.

The Bantustan manoeuvres are merely part of a political strategy in the wake of stresses from our people's pressure for the destruction of colonial type socio-economic relations. Pseudo-political changes with talk of cultural self-expression, gradual progress towards independence, and the politics of dialogue with independent Africa are meaningless gestures. Liberalisation due to economic necessity is wishful thinking in these rigid but fragile economic relations.

Inflation hits the non-white worker hardest and under the pressures of increasing hardship and poverty, the demands of our people in the 'Homelands' as well as in the urban areas grow. Our urban proletariat who function in the more capitalist-oriented production sector of the economy enjoy relative freedom even in the generally repressive Apartheid system when compared with the African miners who are in greater servitude in the more absolute colonial-type relations. But the mineworker's voice is deflected to the 'Homelands' where the pressures of inflation are felt in increased poverty. Both urban and 'Homeland' sectors of our people's militancy is against the same exploitative system. That our people have not been demoralised in the last decade of brutal repression and still make political demands contains the germ of the subjective factor for revolutionary action. Necessity sets the course of the South African struggle and nothing short of the implementation of the Freedom Charter which strikes at the colonial structure of South African society can alter the semi-slave status of our people.

Political contradictions between oppressed and oppressors have not been healed: the conflict becomes more open as the signs of discontent from all sections of our people become more evident.

For those who wonder why we are not yet free in spite of the indomitable courage and dedicated struggle by our people some reflection on Apartheid and imperialism as a two headed monster each head with an insatiable greed for more of that poisonous 'yellow metal that is highly ductible and malleable and has a specific gravity of 19.32' will offer a part answer.

REFERENCES

ANIKIN A.	'Gold and the Dollar', International Affairs, 1972 (March) No.3.
DUTT Palme	'The Crisis of the World Capitalist Economy' African Communist, 1972, No. 48.
GERVASI Sean	'Britain and South Africa: Partners in Imperialism' Sechaba, 1971 (October), Vol. 5(10).
YOUNG Hugo	'What Price Apartheid as South Africa Runs Out of White Men', Sunday Times (London) April 9th, 1972.
—	'South Africa: Key to a Continent' Da Gama Publishers, (Johannesburg) 1970.

AFRICA: Notes and Comments

by Phineas Malinga

Mobutu's 'Authenticity' Campaign

One of the most difficult questions facing Africa today is that of the relationship between traditional cultures and modern states. In the majority of cases, the territorial boundaries of the traditional cultures do not correspond with those of the modern states. Therefore a policy of fostering traditional cultures may have a divisive effect upon the state. On the other hand, the use of former imperial languages and cultures as a unifying factor has disadvantages which are obvious.

The problem is not peculiar to Africa. India also faces it and one cannot yet say confidently that India has solved it. The experience of the Soviet Union is of the utmost value in approaching the problem, but there are two factors which make it difficult for Africa to use the Soviet model as a ready-made solution. Firstly, many of the cultural groups in Africa are so small, and differ so slightly from neighbouring groups that it is difficult to decide whether they are correctly described as nations, and whether the political superstructure of, for instance, an autonomous region, would not be disproportionate to their numbers and economic resources.

Secondly, the relationship between the Russian people and the other nations of the Soviet Union is now such that the Russian language can

be used as the second language for all the non-Russian republics, and thus as the all-Union medium of communication, without arousing any memories of imperial domination. The same cannot be said of the English and French languages in Africa.

Does the 'authenticity' campaign of the Mobutu government in Zaire hold out hopes of a solution to these problems? The haste with which it has been introduced, and the extent to which General Morbutu's personal whims seem to dominate the campaign, give grave cause for doubt. Furthermore, when a government which has miserably failed to assert the essential economic interests of its people against neo-colonialism suddenly starts to make a great show of independence in the cultural field, the possibility that a smoke screen is being created naturally comes to mind.

Nevertheless, the Zaire experiment deserves careful observation and discussion. There is an obvious case to be made for changing place-names which perpetuate either the creations of imperialism or its misconceptions about indigenous culture. Since new names must not imply the domination of any one constituent culture within the modern state, they often must either be sought in ancient history, or freshly coined.

The mass compulsory changing of individuals' names is a much more dubious thing. On the one hand, there is no doubt that the use of European Christian names can be, and has been, an aspect of cultural domination. On the other hand, if an individual has grown up with a name which he regards as his own, no matter where it came from, to force him to change it is a very arbitrary act. A campaign to encourage the voluntary use of traditional indigenous names would seem more appropriate.

The writer of these notes does not possess the knowledge of the cultures of West Central Africa which is needed to pass detailed judgment on the Mobutu measures. Is Mobutu's 'authenticity' really authentic, or is he trying to make up a new national culture out of his head? If the former is the case, the campaign still raises the questions which have been mentioned above. If the latter, the result is likely to be to make it more difficult than ever for the people to re-assert their cultural identity. We hope that readers with more detailed knowledge of this matter will let us know their views.

SUDAN : The Terror Continues

According to official statistics, there are approximately 1,000 political prisoners and detainees in the Sudan, not including imprisoned members of the armed forces. The real number is certainly much greater. While some prisoners have been released, new arrests are continuously taking place. In the past three months, there were at least 100 new arrests. The present regime is in fact chiefly characterised by its policy of terror and arbitrary arrests.

The majority of the prisoners and detainees are Communist and other progressive trade unionists, including large numbers of industrial workers. They include Awadallah Ibrahim, President of the Trade Union Federation, El Hag Abdel Rahman, the Federation's Assistant Secretary, and at least sixteen other members of the Federation's Executive Committee.

Also among the detainees are members of the Executive Committee of the Federation of Professionals and Office Workers Unions, the Teachers' Union, and the Unions of doctors, lawyers and farmers.

There are also among the detainees hundreds of intellectuals, communists and democrats. For example, Mrs. Soad Ibrahamin Ahmed, a lecturer at Khartoum University, Salah Maziri, head of Department at the Housing Ministry, Kariballa Mohammed Hamed, head of Department at the Planning Ministry, and his assistant Wazid Muhammed Saleh.

The conditions in jails and detention centres are extremely bad. There is no medical care, no radio, no newspapers, no books. The families have the right to only one visit per month, and even this one visit can be stopped without reason. For example, on January 26th, 1972, the day of Id al Adha (the foremost Islamic religious festival) a ban on visits led to clashes between the families and the guards.

On that same day, 44 detainees were taken from the detention camp to Khartoum military airport to go to a destination which they did not then know, in Western Sudan.

They were in fact taken to Al Fasher, the capital of Darfur province. 23 remained there, the rest were taken to Zalkha prison, south of Fasher. Conditions in these two prisons are among the worst, with very insufficient food and water, no sanitation, no facilities for washing, very little medical attention with only one doctor of pronounced anti-communist views who refused to attend sick prisoners or admit them to hospital.

But resistance to the terrorist regime in the Sudan is increasing, and not only among the families of the prisoners and detainees. In Khartoum, there is a campaign for their release as well as demands for better treatment while they are kept in prison and detention centres.

A document recently circulated in Khartoum contains resolutions stated to have been adopted by an enlarged meeting of the Central Committee of the Sudanese Communist Party.

The document begins by proclaiming the futility of the government's attempt to exterminate the Communist Party. It goes on to deal with the events of July 1971. The Party, it states, took no part in planning the rising of 19th July, but when the date of the rising had been set by the officers who planned it, 'we did not flinch, nor waste time asking why they had been so precipitate, but threw all our weight behind them.' The events of 19th July were not a mere coup, but 'a positive movement, offering a new model of government, whose seed will eventually flower.' This movement is seen as a legitimate development from the revolution of October 1964.

The document goes on to condemn 'the bloody counter-revolutionary coup of 22nd July', the 'fascist repression' that followed and the 'criminal and hysterical madness of the Head of State' (General Numeiri).

Numeiri, meanwhile, is seeking to build up his position by appealing to extreme right-wing elements which played no part in Sudanese national life between 1964 and 1971.

These include ultra-conservative rural elements and supporters of Islamic theocracy. The government has recently 're-established Islamic jurisprudence as the sole source of legislation'.

It is an urgent obligation for all progressive forces in Africa to express their solidarity with the persecuted but heroic and dauntless Communists and revolutionary democrats of the Sudan, to call on Numeiri to end the terror and release all detainees.

ZAMBIA : The Great Debate

Having decided in principle that Zambia should become a one-party democracy, President Kaunda's government appointed a commission to hear evidence on the form which the new constitution should take. The commission has been holding public sessions throughout the country, and has been hearing a remarkably wide variety of witnesses. There have been men like Mr. Andrew Kashita, managing director of the Industrial Development Corporation or Dr. Henry Matipa, senior economist with the Ministry of Development, both of whom presented detailed schemes for new constitutional machinery.

'Let's do it the Russian way,' said Mr. Higgins Chewe, principal of Luanshya Institute of Commercial and Secretarial Studies.

He said 'Allowing the present form of government under a one-party democracy would be tantamount to permitting dictatorship. The new democracy must be a people's dictatorship in which they are assured of full participation not in name but in deed.' There should be a "bilateral supreme assembly" which should respect the fundamental rights of man.

Among the points under discussion are whether there should be a prime minister as well as a president, whether the number of local government functionaries should be reduced and whether there should be any limit on the length of time for which any one man can serve as president, or in other important offices. A point made by several

witnesses is that candidates for elections must be chosen at local level, not by the central party leadership.

The context within which all these discussions are being held is that of President Kaunda's speech of 16th March. He then said that the type of one-party state to be sought was a participatory democracy based on individual freedom and eliminating the exploitation of man by man.

Opposition to the whole scheme has been expressed by the Zambian ANC and by the National Union of Zambian Students. Other minority groups, such as the UPP and the Zambia National Democratic Union do not appear to be opposed in principle. The Zambian Congress of Trade Unions has submitted broadly favourable evidence to the commission.

UGANDA : Marching Orders for Israelis

News from inside Uganda continues to be confusing and in many respects disturbing. Lives have undoubtedly been lost in domestic strife. The economic situation is not good. The military government of Idi Amin continues to appear both repressive and erratic.

Yet there is one piece of welcome news. In the space of three weeks, between 22nd March and 10th April, Uganda completely eliminated the menacing Israeli presence from the territory. Before that, there had been some seven hundred Israelis in Uganda. They were in charge of the training of both the army and the air force. They were constructing an air field and some other projects. They were also, so the Ugandan government has since revealed, engaged in espionage.

There was never any doubt about the reason for Israel's special interest in Uganda. The idea was to stir up hostility between the Arab nations and the equatorial African nations, in the hope of encircling the Arabs. It was a part of the same dirty game that the Israelis were playing by encouraging the revolt in the southern Sudan. For any African to lend himself to such a game was both treachery and folly. It could lead to nothing but misfortune for Africa and disaster for those involved.

Fortunately, it has now become apparent that not even the most reactionary African governments are so blind to their own interests. The Sudan has taken steps which may lead to an end of the war in the south, and Uganda has freed herself from the toils of Israeli intrigue. The Zionist scheme for a 'southern front' against the Arab peoples is in ruins.

W. German Imperialism and Cabora Bassa

Recent research by Dr. Julius Mader has revealed significant facts about the past history of some of the West German firms now participating in the construction of the Cabora Bassa dam and its electrical installations.

The first firm concerned is Allgemeine Elektrizitätsgesellschaft - Telefunken, generally known as AEG.

AEG belongs to the 'ZAMCO sub-consortium for Power Station Construction', directed by the West German Siemens monopoly.

AEG heads the ZAMCO sub-consortium for High Voltage Direct Current Transmission which erects converter stations in Mozambique and in racist South Africa which are to convert the three-phase current produced in the Cabora Bassa into direct current for transport to South Africa, there to be converted back into three-phase current.

The 'building group' for Cabora Bassa includes the West German 'Hochtief' building trust, a joint-stock company for civil engineering in Essen, whose main stockholder is AEG with 25 per cent of the capital.

AEG has flourishing branches in 102 countries throughout the world, including 28 African and Arab countries. In addition there are 63 foreign AEG subsidiary companies for production and sales, of which one tenth are in Africa.

AEG has a wide variety of branches : power engineering, nuclear reactors, communications, data processing and traffic engineering, electronic building elements, household, radio and television engineering. The colourful AEG prospectuses, however, lack any data about one of the most profitable branches of production, namely the extensive and highly secret war production. AEG delivers aircraft and missile electronic devices, radar systems, electric and electronic war instruments and militarily usable nuclear research installations to NATO countries. The Portuguese militarists are among its regular customers.

One third of the nearly two thousand million US dollars of annual turnover is represented by AEG exports abroad, with which it realises additional maximum profits. AEG increasingly manufactures its products overseas with the help of relatively 'cheap' labour forces. The two branch companies of AEG in Johannesburg, South Africa, alone realised in 1970 no less than 70 million marks (some 20 million US dollars).

As one of the main suppliers of the Hitler Wehrmacht AEG reached a high point in the last years of the Second World War. The defeat of the German fascists did not bring this war criminal monopoly to its deserved end, but brought about noticeable reverses. On the territory of the German Democratic Republic nine factories were expropriated and became public property forever. In addition the AEG lost all capital interests abroad in 1945. But as a result of its uniquely rapid expansion – especially in Africa – with starting aid given by Wall Street, AEG capital has more than doubled in the interim period and the parasitical dividend rate offered to the AEG profiteers has more than tripled.

According to calculations by the German Economic Institute in Berlin the annual net profit of the AEG amounts to 600 to 750 million marks (some 170 to 210 million US dollars), and the AEG holds 14th place in the West German table of the 100 biggest profit makers.

Hitler and his nazi party could count on the active help of the AEG monopoly even before the coming to power of the fascist dictator in 1933. On 27 January 1932 AEG representatives were present in the Industrial Club in Düsseldorf when the German monopolists chose Hitler as 'their man'.

The AEG turnover doubled between 1936, when the Hitler Wehrmacht was rapidly expanded, and 1939, when Hitler Germany launched the Second World War.

The rapacious AEG marched into foreign countries behind the Hitler Wehrmacht. In occupied France the AEG appropriated 17 works, and some dozens in Belgium, Norway and the Netherlands. The AEG 'took over' the electrical equipment factories in Poland and in the temporarily occupied regions of the USSR.

A very similar situation is revealed when one takes a look at the Brown Boveri group (an international organisation with its head office in Switzerland but its largest manufacturing capacity in West Germany).

Since 1968, Brown Boveri Group (BBC) has been trying to obtain orders for Cabora Bassa from the Portuguese and South African governments, resulting in huge orders both for the first stage of construction (retaining dam, two power stations, a converter station and a transmission line in Mozambique) as well as for the connecting line to Pretoria, given by the Portuguese dictator and the South African Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM).

Within the imperialist-colonial consortium ZAMCO (Zambese Consorcio Hidro-electrico) the BBC-monopoly has secured a firm position in the sub-consortia for

- the construction of the Cabora Bassa power stations:
- the transmission lines for super-high voltage direct current.

The parent company, Brown, Boveri & Co. with its seat in neutral Switzerland, is an object lesson that monopoly capital does not care about 'neutrality'. The group was among Hitler Germany's most 'reliable' armament producers when that country committed acts of aggression against the peoples and countries of Europe and Africa. As a token of recognition, Brown Boveri received after the 1942 invasion of the USSR by the Hitler Wehrmacht, the 'Voroshilov' Works in Dnyepropetrovsk together with the order 'to take any measures required to render the works most efficient within the shortest possible time for the sake of defence of the Reich'. Thus BBC waxed rich on the fascist slave-labour scheme.

And when on August 10th, 1944, nine months before the final collapse of Hitlerite Germany, the leading German monopolists met in the Maison Rouge Hotel in Strasbourg to discuss ways and means to preserve their economic influence and power beyond the defeat of the Nazis on the battlefield, how to 'salvage' the Nazi loot and to transfer it to neutral countries, particularly Switzerland and how to open bank accounts for the top-Nazis abroad, the representative of Brown Boveri & Co. could not, as a matter of course, be absent.

Nowadays the group extorts super-profits from West German and foreign factory and office workers. It has specialised in the installation of industrial and power plant as well as generation and conversion of electric energy. Since it has become one of the leading armament suppliers of the military-industrial complex of West Germany profits have been skyrocketing. Thus Brown, Boveri & Co. provide the aggressive Bundeswehr and the armies of other NATO states, including Portugal, with communication equipment, radio and radar plant etc. And it also has laid, in collaboration with Krupp's war-criminal concern, vital foundations for nuclear weapon production in West Germany These two monopolies design, construct and equip nuclear reactors as well as nuclear-technical plant.

Another salient feature is the group's co-operation with dictators and racist regimes, such as Portugal and South Africa as well as with the Spain of dictator Franco where its subsidiary Brown Boveri S.A., has established itself in Bilbao.

Chairman of the Brown Boveri board of directors is Dr. Hermann Richter, who used to be manager of the Dresdner Bank (then the proprietary bank of the SS) during the Nazi regime. IG-Farben is represented on the board of directors by Dr. Rolf Sammet (Farbwerke Hoechst) and Dr. Carl Wurster (Badische Anilin-und Sodafabrik BASF). Carl Wurster used to serve Hitler as a 'Wehrwirtschaftsführer' and received the 'Ritterkreuz zum Kriegsverdienstkreuz', one of the highest war medals. The Bonn rulers added to this distinction the 'Grosse Bundesverdienstkreuz mit Stern und Schulterband'.

Or let us have a look at board-member Dr. Josef Rust: while in 1940 a high official in Hitler's Reichswirtschaftsministerium (Ministry of Economy), he was an 'Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat', and headed a section in the Reich Ministry for the occupied Eastern Territories. Rust's boss was sentenced to death by the International Military Tribunal of Nuremberg for horrid crimes against humanity and was hanged in 1946, whereas Rust became Secretary of State in the Bonn war ministry. He is one of the closest friends of right-extremist Franz-Josef Strauss who is, as everybody knows, a solid advocate of the Bonn-Pretoria axis.

These five board-members of Brown Boveri alone, hold as many as 63 managerial positions in the various monopolistic bodies of state-monopoly capitalism in the FRG, prepared, now as before, to use this power in their hands against the vital interests of the peoples.

BOOK REVIEWS

RATIONALISING DEFEATISM

Modernising Racial Discrimination: The Dynamics of South African Politics by Heribert Adam, University of California Press, 1971, £3.80

Heribert Adam was born in Germany, and educated at the University of Frankfurt where he worked for five years at the Institute for Social Research. He has taught at the University of Natal, and is now chairman of the Political Science, Sociology and Anthropology Department at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, Canada. A previous book edited by Adam, *South Africa: Sociological Perspectives* was reviewed in *The African Communist* No. 47, fourth quarter, 1971.

Through the appalling fog created by the high-flown sociological jargon used by Adam to give an air of respectability and authority to his commonplace propositions, one can discern the author's basic pessimism about the prospects for revolutionary social change in South Africa.

'In summary', he writes on page 100, 'it is suggested that the economic boom and resulting upward mobility has mitigated the effects of ethnic disprivilege. This does not mean the material aspirations of the Africans are satisfied, but rather that the average African is not sufficiently dissatisfied to involve himself in risky efforts to break down the system. They tend to estimate the future in terms of

their present experiences and, hence, do not expect riches, but only a somewhat better standard of living plus a potential upward social mobility . . . Resigned adjustment to the inevitable seems at present the dominating tendency among the politically aware non-whites inside the country. This alone is the success of Apartheid in moral terms, but this is all the white rulers needed to achieve in terms of political control'.

After studying this paragraph, and considering the arguments contained in the rest of the book, one wonders how Adam has satisfied himself that he has the qualifications required to make political judgments of this kind. He speaks of what 'the average African' thinks and feels about the possibilities of revolution in South Africa. In the first place, one may ask what Mr Adam knows about the ideas of the average African in South Africa. He may have met a few intellectuals in the universities – perhaps the people he refers to as 'politically aware non-Whites'. But one must ask – has he ever done political work with the African rank and file? Does he speak any of their languages? On what, apart from common-room gossip and remote newspaper comment, does he base his conclusions that this is what the average African thinks and feels about anything? He claims to be a sociologist. Has he conducted any surveys of the political opinions of the average African? No scientifically acceptable evidence about this is produced in Adam's book, and he ought to know that in present circumstances it would not be possible to conduct any such scientific survey. The Security Police would not allow Mr Adam to enter any township or reserve and ask questions on political subjects. No 'average' or 'politically aware' non-White would answer any silly questionnaire on such subjects anyway.

Mr Adam's ignorance or prejudice is not confined to African opinion. In defiance of all scientific criteria, he advances one dubious proposition after another as if it were indisputable fact. He says the Africans in South Africa are better off than Africans elsewhere in Africa; that Africans are sharing in the redistribution of wealth produced by the economic boom of the 1960s; that the Coloured people are politically apathetic; that both Coloureds and Indians would prefer White domination to Black majority rule; that the Pan-Africanist Congress is more militant than the African National Congress; that organised multi-racial contact in South Africa has been outlawed; that

the South African Government welcomes the academic boycott; that the South African Security Police no longer use torture, and police brutality is the exception rather than the rule; that there is no formal racial separation in Smith's Rhodesia; that the racial conflicts between the various non-White groups 'exceed the frictions between white and non-white'; that the African in Pretoria is better treated by the police than the Negro in Chicago; that Bantu university education has been successful 'in terms of the Apartheid programmes'; that one reason for the failure of the ANC campaigns was that they failed to attract the tsotsi element; that many Africans accept that they are inferior to Whites; that Umkhonto we Sizwe failed because Africans feared White reprisal and were not prepared to die for freedom; that there is more chance of change flowing from 'developments and contradictions within the ruling group than in initiatives of the subordinates'.

Tendentiously, Adam marshals every argument to stress the strength of the Government forces and the weakness of their opponents both inside the country and in the outside world. The Vorster Government has more guns than the guerrillas – therefore to push the slogan that all power comes from the barrel of a gun 'has depoliticising effects insofar as it fails to do what might be possible to mitigate the existing stalemate. It tends to abandon the people who have to live under such conditions instead of realistically aiming at their gradual advancement through slow improvements in their standard of living, education, employment, and organising capacity within the contradictions of oppression'.

At last we have it. Mr Adam's message to the South African oppressed is basically: 'don't fight, submit. Be patient. The promised land cannot be obtained by force. It will come in its own good time when conditions are ripe'. Maybe this was not his intention; but it is the central message which comes across to the reader.

Mr Adam's pessimism and defeatism flow fundamentally from his lack of understanding of the meaning and nature of social revolution, and his inability to analyse in South African terms the class and national forces that will bring it about. Adam continually sneers at the 'vulgar Marxists' who think this or that, yet nowhere shows that he has read, studied or understood any of the classical Marxist writings on revolution. Least of all has he made any profound study of the growth and development of the Congress movement in South Africa.

In a footnote on page 113 he writes: 'I am grateful to Fatima Meer and E. Tuemp for various clarifications of the ANC policy.' A reading of Fatima Meer's deeply pessimistic (not to mention contemptuous) article on 'African Nationalism – Inhibiting Factors' in the Adam-edited *South Africa – Sociological Perspectives* will reveal one source of Mr Adam's own depression. Perhaps Mr Tuemp (unknown to this reviewer) is also a bit down in the mouth. Mr Adam also refers to the writings of Matthew Nkoana as throwing light on the 'ideological and tactical differences between the Liberation Movements', and depends heavily for his assumption of African political incapacity on an article by Edward Feit 'Urban Revolt in South Africa: A Case Study' published in the *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 8 (1970). Feit in turn has accepted as a reliable guide to ANC policy and achievement the statements of police informers and renegades who, after being processed by the Security Police, have appeared as state witnesses in various sabotage trials.

With such mentors, is it at all surprising that Mr Adam has lost his way? But where Mr Adam must be most criticised is in his total failure to discuss the work and writings of the most revolutionary element in South African society, the South African Communist Party. The Communist Party, after all, *does* believe in the possibility of revolution in South Africa. It has set out its programme for changing the social structure in South Africa in *The Road to South African Freedom* as well as the pages of this journal published quarterly since 1959. The Communist Party has not, like so many of Mr Adam's sources, been content only to theorise about the nature of political action, but has taken part in political struggle side by side with its allies in the national liberation movement for over half a century. Communists have shown – just as other South African freedom fighters – that they are prepared to fight, to go to prison, if need be to die for freedom in South Africa. We do not expect Mr Adam to agree with them; surely, as a social scientist, he is obliged to take notice of their views if only because, whether Mr Adam likes it or not, they have had and are having a profound effect on the conduct of political affairs in South Africa. The omission of all serious reference to the South African Communist Party must be taken as a reflection, not on the role of the Party in South Africa, but on Mr Adam himself for refusing to look at what he does not want to see.

Z.N.

TWO FACES OF RACISM

If They Come in the Morning, by Angela Davis (Orbach and Chambers) 45p.

Apartheid: A Collection of Writings on South African Racism by South Africans, edited by Alex La Guma, Lawrence and Wishart, £1.00

These two books have much in common. Both are collections of articles and poems on racist oppression. In both books, the writers included are political activists. That one book describes the United States and the other South Africa points their mutual message: the utter ruthlessness with which a capitalist society at bay is prepared to suppress its opponents, using what George Jackson, in one of his two contributions to 'If They Come in the Morning', describes as 'one of the most complex psycho-social by-products that economic man with his private enterprise has manufactured – Racism'.

The contributors to the American collection include, as well as Angela Davis, James Baldwin, Huey Newton, Ericka Huggins, Bobby Seale, and all three Soledad Brothers. The focus of this book is on political trials, and the ever-increasing part they are playing in maintaining the US system. As James Baldwin writes in his *Open Letter to Angela Davis* ' . . . we must fight for your life as though it were our own – which it is – and render impassable with our bodies the corridor to the gas chamber. For, if they take you in the morning, they will be coming for us that night'.

Apartheid is more wide-ranging in its concern, covering as it does, aspects of South African racism in every field, and also numerous aspects of opposition of apartheid, from the sporting and cultural boycott movements to the strategy and tactics of the South African Revolution – and including a concise history of the South African Communist Party. This is an invaluable handbook which deserves a place on the bookshelf of every one concerned with the South African people's struggle. It also contains moving poems arising directly from the experience of Freedom Fighters.

D. W.

THE ART OF VICTORY

The Military Art of People's War: Selected Writings of General Vo Nguyen Giap. Edited by Russel Stetler. Monthly Review, 1970. £3.90

As this review is being written United States imperialism is undergoing the greatest humiliation and fiasco in its history of aggressive wars. The brilliant spring offensive of the liberation forces on the battlefields of Vietnam is sweeping aside the US and puppet troops who are running for their lives, demolishing the fraudulent American policy of "Vietnamisation", and the artificial optimism of Nixon and his top military brass. The prophetic words of General Giap, spoken early in 1969, come to mind: 'We won a military victory over the French, and we will win it over the Americans, . . . their Dien Bien Phu is still to come'.

The name of General Vo Nguyen Giap is bound up of course with the ideas of people's war, and is virtually synonymous with the historic battle that demolished the French colonial forces in Indochina in 1954. His forecast that the same fate awaited the US aggressors is now evident to all but the blindest apologists of the Pentagon, for it is perfectly clear that the heroic people of Vietnam are on the threshold of their final political and military victory.

Those who subscribe to the bourgeois myth that technology is the master of man find it inconceivable that the most powerful imperialist state in the world, with the most awesome material, technological and economic resources at its disposal, should suffer such an ignominous defeat at the hands of a small, underdeveloped, Asian nation. The reasons for the utter collapse of America's dirty war in Vietnam are of paramount importance to progressive mankind, and in particular to the national liberation movements of the third world. The oppressed people of South Africa, who face a particularly well-equipped and economically powerful enemy, are intensely interested in, and inspired by, the glorious Vietnamese Revolution.

Those who argue that the Whites in South Africa would be able to contain an African revolution 'because of their highly sophisticated security services, their Citizen's Army, their massive armoury, including their helicopters . . .' (the former Dean of Johannesburg in the London

Observer, 30 April, 1972) will find, along with the rest of us, *The Military Art of People's War,* instructive reading. This collection of the writings of General Giap (the last item is an interview dated spring 1969) makes it eloquently clear how a materially weak, but revolutionary determined people are able to foil the policies and manoeuvres, the strategy and ultramodern tactics, of a powerfully armed enemy. The existence of Socialist North Vietnam today, the invaluable bastion and rear of the people of the imprisoned South, must not blind us to the fact that the liberation forces commenced the struggle without an inch of liberated territory at a time, before the creation of People's China, when they were surrounded by hostile territory, and were composed of small guerrilla units using the most rudimentary weapons. In addition Vietnam does not enjoy the advantages attached to a country with a wide territory and a large population. There are 16 million people in the North and 14 million in the South. Most of Vietnam is very narrow and thinly populated. The South, apart from the Mekong Delta, with its 7 million inhabitants, is never more than 100 miles wide, and the area in the so-called De-Militarised Zone is scarcely 30 miles in width; a factor which might induce one to conclude, as a pantomime procession of American Presidents, Ambassadors and Generals have, that the territory would prove easy to 'pacify' and police. It is history that 1,200,000 American, puppet and satellite troops, with 600,000 GI's as the hard core, supported by the US Seventh Fleet (six aircraft carriers and 150 assorted ships), and an air force of over 1,000 aircraft, from helicopter gunships to the obscene B-52 bombers, equipped with the most sophisticated and barbarous weaponry in the history of warfare, failed to do that.

Although, at the start, weak in equipment, technique and economic potential, the Vietnamese people were not unnerved by the terrible material power, the enormous war machine, of US imperialism. General Giap has suggested that 'nowadays in military affairs there is a greater invention than atomic weapons' and that is the art of People's War. Outlining the fundamental factors accounting for the successes of his people he has stated:

> . . . We have absolute political and moral superiority, a correct leadership, the strength of an entirely united people, the invincible people's war, the sympathy and strong support of people throughout the world. As we fight we will score greater victories and become stronger.

The strategy and tactics of popular guerrilla struggle have become familiar to all revolutionaries, but it is well worth heeding the emphasis General Giap places on its essence: the correct relationship between the political and military aspects of the struggle. 'The military line of our Party', he writes, 'derives from and always follows its political line; it endeavours to achieve the political aims of the revolution through armed struggle or political struggle combined with armed struggle'. The Vietnamese people have achieved their victories as a result of a skilful co-ordination between armed and political struggle. 'One of the striking particularities of the revolutionary war in the South' writes Giap, 'is that it is developing simultaneously in two forms – political struggle and armed struggle'. And he proceeds to point out: 'Political struggle plays a very fundamental role because our basic strength and the enemy's basic weakness lie in the political field.' The essential point of course is to convert the potential political strength of the masses into hard reality, and when the conditions for armed struggle are appropriate, then 'only with the support of armed struggle can the masses bring into play their political authority'.

Assessing the economic and military strength of US Imperialism in South Vietnam, and of the French colonialists and Japanese fascists before them, General Giap, charting the course to victory, has explained:

> In these conditions, our military line is that followed by a small nation struggling against a much stronger enemy. This strategy has been successful in solving, creatively and adequately, a fundamental problem: relying on our absolute political superiority, on the righteousness of our cause, and on our people's unity in struggle, it is possible to use what is weak to fight what is strong, to defeat the most modern weapons with a revolutionary spirit. Consequently, a small nation is quite capable of defeating the professional army of the imperialist aggressors.

The Vietnamese comrades have correctly understood that politics and fighting spirit are the essential factors of the struggle; they have correctly determined the relationship between man and weapons, between politics and technique. They have demonstrated that the strength of a people's enemy can not make up for the weaknesses in morale and politics which are inherent in a counter-revolutionary army. The invincible potential force and immense political power of the oppressed masses is something that the enemy, be they the South

African racists, Portuguese colonialists, or US imperialists, can never hope to fathom.

In an attempt to account for the dramatic rout of US and puppet forces in the northern Quang Tri province of South Vietnam, a senior US adviser has listed the use by liberation forces of Soviet tanks, long-range artillery and anti-aircraft missiles. It is true that in modern conditions of warfare one must not underestimate the need for modern weapons and technology. The socialist North has successfully defended itself with the aid of advanced Soviet equipment, and in the process the US has lost an important part of its air force and the cream of its pilots. In the South it is clear that the people's liberation forces have successfully mastered the problems of weapons and technology, which is a necessary condition for finally defeating the enemy. However, this by no means contradicts what Giap pinpoints as the essential feature of revolutionary military art, 'the main content of which is to rely chiefly on man, on his patriotism and revolutionary spirit, to bring into full play all weapons and techniques available to defeat an enemy with up-to-date weapons and equipment'.

ALEXANDER SIBEKO
4 May 1972

AUTHORITATIVE SOVIET VOICE

Following Lenin's Course, by L.I. Brezhnev, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. (From Central Books, London, 80p.)

Just what is the policy, aim and theoretical outlook of the present-day leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union? Those of us who live in that large area of the world whose communications media are dominated by capitalist and imperialist interests are daily treated to columns of speculation on these questions in the newspapers, by writers who never bother themselves to quote a single word of any authoritative Soviet spokesman. By pretending that such matters are wrapped up in mystery these writers are able to substitute their own highly dubious versions of what 'the Kremlin' really thinks.

Those who prefer to get their information from the original source have now at their disposal an invaluable collection of articles and speeches by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The themes dealt with cover a wide variety of subjects of major importance. On long-range theoretical and historical matters the volume includes speeches on the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution and the centenary of Lenin's birth. On the major world problems of our times we have Brezhnev's important contribution to the international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in June 1969, as well as significant fraternal greetings at the Congresses of the Hungarian, Bulgarian, Czechoslovak, GDR and Polish Marxist-Leninist Parties.

On current problems of the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, the collection includes Comrade Brezhnev's major report of the Central Committee to the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Of course all these documents reflect not only individual views, but the collective wisdom of the Central Committee, on whose behalf the writer speaks. It is precisely this which gives this collection its authoritative character.

But throughout one is conscious of the keen intelligence, the revolutionary spirit and the crisp, lucid formation of its author. And it is this which makes the volume extremely readable.

At 80 pence this well-produced 500-page volume is outstanding value.

A. L.

LIGHT ON CAMEROUN

Le Cameroun: Essai D'Analyse Economique et Politique,
by David Kom (Editions Sociales, Paris).

Dr Kom is a Camerounian economist and a graduate of Moscow University. He has made a detailed examination of the post-independence history of his own country, and has sought to draw some general conclusions about neo-colonialism and the non-capitalist path of development in Africa.

Cameroun is a country with 85 per cent of its population engaged in agriculture and exhibiting marked survivals of feudalism in its rural areas. There is a class of rural capitalists owning large plantations and a small urban bourgeoisie. These classes are partly of settler origin and, to the extent that they are indigenous, they are closely related to the feudalists. Production of the main market crops, and such industry as exists, are dominated by foreign companies. The transport system was created purely to cater for trade with France and has not been substantially altered since independence. Industrialisation has been slow and industries are working to less than their full capacity.

The perpetuation of these conditions, the author argues, is the typical policy of neo-colonialism. He identifies the army as a major factor in the maintenance of neo-colonialism and he makes an interesting analysis of the class structure of the Cameroun army. The superior officers are drawn exclusively from among the sons of feudal chiefs, senior bureaucrats and the compradore bourgeoisie. The middle ranks are filled by frustrated young men who have managed to acquire an elementary education but have been unable to find any other employment in which their education is of use. The rank and file is drawn mainly from among the demoralised unemployed class which the expropriation of peasants by rural capitalists has created.

Going on to discuss the non-capitalist path of development which offers the only hope of solving Cameroun's problems, Dr Kom defines the non-capitalist path as follows:-

1. Direction of the toiling masses by the proletariat, whose core is the Marxist-Leninist party.
2. Accomplishment of the proletarian revolution and installation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another.
3. Alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry and other working groups.
4. Abolition of capitalist property and installation of common ownership of the principal means of production.
5. Gradual socialist transformation of agriculture and planning of the economy with a view to the building of socialism.
6. Socialist revolution in the ideological and cultural spheres.
7. Abolition of all national oppression and establishment of equality and fraternity between peoples.

8. Defence of the gains of the revolution against external and internal enemies.
9. Solidarity of the working class with workers of other countries, that is, proletarian internationalism.

Considering the sweeping nature of these aims, however laudable in themselves, the reader is tempted to question their feasibility in a country in which, to our knowledge, the proletariat has not even yet succeeded in producing its own independent Marxist-Leninist Party. Is not Dr Kom, wishfully, projecting the features of a full-fledged socialist revolution, applicable to a developed capitalist country, to the conditions of Cameroun – even though he labels this the 'non-capitalist path'?

P. M.

LABOUR MONTHLY

Founded 1921 *Editor: R. Palme Dutt*

A Marxist commentary on political events in the cause of national liberation and socialism.

20 pence monthly – £1.20 half-yearly subscription – £2.40 yearly.

(Students: £2.20 yearly – £1.10 half-yearly.)

– all post free (surface mail) from –

DEPARTMENT AC
134 Ballards Lane
London N3 2PD
England

STAND BY NAMIBIA!

(In its clandestine journal *Inkululeko-Freedom* produced and distributed inside the country the South African Communist Party issued a strong call to the workers to stand by their brothers on strike in Namibia. The article is reproduced below.)

The great strike of Ovambo workers which began on December 13, 1971, represents the greatest upsurge of the African working-class in Southern Africa since the African mineworkers' strike of 1946. Within days up to 20,000 workers had downed tools. Work on the mines, factories, farms, building sites, railways and docks came to a standstill.

The strike was called in protest against the infamous contract labour system which imprisons all the workers of Namibia. No African worker can leave his "homeland" in Namibia unless he has signed a contract with the South West Africa Native Labour Association (SWANLA). The contract ties him down to a particular job with a particular employer at a stipulated wage for a period of 12 to 18 months. It is a criminal offence for the worker to leave his job or try to find a better job during the period of contract. When the contract is completed the worker is compelled to return to his "homeland" before seeking another job. There are no trade unions and strikes are illegal. The result of this system of slave labour is that Africans are forced to be separated from their families throughout their working life and get paid an average of between R6 and R8 a month. Only some workers on the mines and in office jobs get a little more.

The whole system is the foundation stone of white supremacy.

The white schoolboys who were called in as scabs during the strike were paid R109 a month – the pay of an unskilled white labourer. A white shift boss gets over R300 a month, a white mine captain over R400 a month. Africans are not allowed to train for these skilled jobs.

THE BOSSES BENEFIT

Those who benefit most from this slave labour are the bosses – the white bosses in Namibia, the white investors from South Africa like Anglo-American, who control the diamond mines, the American bosses who control Tsumeb, the British, West German, French, Canadian and other foreign bosses who fall over themselves to invest in Namibia because they get a higher profit there than they can get anywhere else in the world. Over one third of all the wealth produced in Namibia every year flows overseas into the bank accounts of these foreign bosses.

Since 1966 the United Nations has been calling for South Africa to get out of Namibia (South West Africa). But nothing has been done because Western imperialist governments want to preserve the profits of the bosses and help the South African government to keep the Namibian people in slavery. In June 1971 the World Court once again showed that South Africa had no legal right to remain in Namibia, but once again nothing has been done. The Vorster government builds huge military bases in the caprivi strip and elsewhere to threaten the independence of Zambia and other independent African countries.

It is not only Ovambos who are against slave labour in Namibia. All other groups support the Ovambo – the Okavango, the Herero, the Rehobothers, the Nama, the Damara and all others. The strikers have been mainly Ovambo because the Ovambo are more than half the population, and are the vast majority of all contract workers, up to 90 per cent on the mines. But all Namibians are united in wanting South Africa to get out.

In 1966 Namibian guerrilla fighters launched their first offensive against the South African forces, and since the South African casualties have grown steadily, Vorster tried to terrorise the Namibian people by laying waste to the countryside on the borders, by throwing the

people's leaders into jail under the Terrorism Act. But the anger of the Namibian people has grown steadily.

Now the great strike has shown the power of the people. By withdrawing the power of their labour, the Ovambo workers have struck a mortal blow against the Vorster regime and the Bantustan policies.

The lesson of the Ovambo strike is that through unity and organisation the people can defeat the South African government, despite all its soldiers, security laws and policemen. The chiefs and headmen and informers who work for the South African government have been discredited for all time.

STAND BY NAMIBIA

The workers and freedom-loving people of South Africa stand one hundred per cent with their brothers in Namibia.

We demand that the South African government should unconditionally quit Namibia and allow the Namibian people to govern themselves.

The best way to help our fellow workers is to fight together with them against white domination and for freedom.

Contract labour and migratory labour are part of the same system which we suffer from. The Ovambo workers have shown the way.

Workers, let us learn from our brothers in Namibia. Let us join together to fight slave labour, Bantustans and white minority rule.

FORWARD TO FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA!

S.A. and NAZI GERMANY

(Recently 45 South African clergymen and leading laymen of many denominations (including the Dutch Reformed Church) published an "Open Letter to South Africans" in the Christian journal *Pro Veritate*, pointing out parallels between SA and Nazi Germany. It followed the attacks of the retiring D.R.C. Moderator, Dr. J. S. Gericke, in October last year, on those critics of apartheid who 'draw an evil and untrue comparison' between SA and Nazi Germany. There follow extracts from the "Open Letter".)

Was Dr Gericke right so vehemently to denounce this comparison as a lie? We would answer: Yes, he *was* right – against, critics, if there are any (for we do not know of any) who make a simple equation between the two. For such historical comparisons can never be precise. Nevertheless, we feel that the kind of attitude which Dr Gericke expressed and the support it gave the Government need to be deplored.

In his book, *Mein Kampf*, Hitler characterized himself and his philosophy as essentially and primarily 'nationalist'. Moreover he despised and rejected the kind of patriotism which embraced the many-people State of Austria and instead exalted against it the nationalism limited to a single Volk. Whereas the term "nation" ordinarily "comprises all those who are citizens of the State concerned" the Nazis made the novel assertion that the "term must be restricted to those persons who are racially akin to one another".

Is the dominant political ideology in South Africa not similarly a neurotic nationalism? And does our Government not similarly insist that the peoples of South Africa must not regard themselves as one nation but as many "nations" which must be separated from one another and can claim not one common loyalty within a common fatherland but only separate loyalties?

The Nazis used this principle to argue: "The Jews in Germany constitute a group of aliens who can expect to enjoy the hospitality of the country just like the members of other races".

The Nationalist Government uses this same principle to argue concerning the rights of Blacks in so-called "White" South Africa: "No country can allow the citizens of another State to enter the country at will". (Dr Koornhof), and on this basis, "All the so-called rights of the Bantu which lead to integration and equality in white South Africa will be removed by us". (The Minister of Bantu Administration.)

Hitler called on the Germans to fulfil "the mission appointed for them by the Creator of the Universe" (Mein Kampf). In 1938 he told the diplomatic corps in Berlin: "We believe in the task which Providence has laid upon us." Dr Malan said, "Afrikanerdom is not the work of man but the creation of God."

Hitler wrote in Mein Kampf: "A people that fails to preserve the purity of its racial blood destroys the unity of the soul of the nation in all its manifestations." "The most accursed of all crimes," he maintained, was "cross-breeding".

Is it not a parallel to this when the Nationalist Party states in its official Programme and Principles that it is its "basic principle" to prevent all "blood mixing" (bloedvermenging) between White and non-White, and that for this purpose it will endorse segregation in every possible sphere?

As Mr J. G. Strijdom, later to be Prime Minister, said in 1942: "German National Socialism strives for race purity. That philosophy (lewensbeskouing) is most certainly the nearest to our National-Christian philosophy in South Africa" (Hansard, Col.2070). Are our laws against intermarriage and extra-marital relations between White and non-White in South Africa not parallel to the infamous Nuremberg Law that forbade the same things between Aryan and Jew in Germany?

The Nazis were fanatical about enquiring into the racial ancestry of people who lived in Germany in order to classify them according to how much Aryan blood they had. So also in South Africa we have a degrading system of race classification and registration which has sometimes been applied with detailed physical inspection of hair and nails, which has destroyed marriages and torn families apart and which has led to several suicides.

The Nazis compelled all workers to have "work-books" without which they could not be employed. They outlawed all the normal means by which labourers could protect themselves, such as the right to bargain collectively, to form trade unions of their own, to organise in any way, to exert economic pressure, to strike for better wages and to move freely from one job to another. Which of these rights have not been outlawed for our African labourers? Is it not because these rights to bargain for wages and sell their labour in a free market have been taken from them in all ways that Africans in the "White" areas (where of course the very great majority of employment will continue to be) are confined in principle (wherever possible) to the most unskilled work, they are forced to work at drastically lower wages and their earning power is thus artificially held down? Is it not as a result of this brutally selfish policy of the Whites that of the 800,000 Africans in Johannesburg, just for instance, seven out of every ten live on an income below the breadline or poverty datum line – while the Whites have one of the three wealthiest income levels in the world?

The Nazis converted the lands around Germany into huge reservoirs of labour units. Have we not let the Reserves become huge labour reservoirs around our White Group Areas? According to the 1970 census figures the population of the Reserves has, largely as a result of our policy of "endorsing out", increased by 69 per cent, since 1960, without a very appreciable increase in the number of jobs available there or in the agricultural productivity. According to the figures collected by Mr Eric Winchester, MP, about one million people (mainly Africans and only 3,000 Whites) have been ruthlessly "resettled" in terms of the Group Areas Act and other legislation – many of them to suffer in the terrible poverty of our notorious "resettlement Camps" in the Reserves, like Limehill and Morsgat.

And is not the declared intention of the Government to place all the eight million Africans who live and work outside the Reserves on the migratory labour system? These migrant labourers are not physically forced, as in Germany, to work in our industrial areas but they are nonetheless compelled by economic circumstances. Moreover, is our migratory labour system not already shattering thousands upon thousands of African families every year?

On the ground that it was necessary for the security of the State, Hitler gradually dismantled the rule of law in Germany. The Nazis began to dispense with the law courts and to imprison or ban people without trial. Even people acquitted by the courts were arrested or banned. They were detained without recourse to family, friends, legal adviser or minister of religion. Some were brutally treated or tortured to extract confessions and some died in mysterious circumstances.

Which of these things is not happening in South Africa? Do we not also have laws which enable the Government to dispense with the law courts? Do the 90 Day and 180 Day Laws, and the Terrorism Act not all enable it to hold people incommunicado in this way and for indefinite periods?

As long ago as 1940 the Nationalist Party produced a publication, The New South Africa, which stated: "Nationalist Afrikanerdom longs for the death of that system" of democracy which emphasised "the freedom of the individual". As in Nazi Germany, so in South Africa today the rights of the individual are being destroyed in all these absolutist ways because the rights of the Volk are regarded as paramount.

The Nazis regarded the civilisation of Western countries as decadent and a dangerous undermining influence on the German volk. Against it they exalted the purity and superiority of their own Germanic Kultur. Particularly they opposed the "liberalism" of the West because it regarded the individual person as primarily important rather than the collective Volk or race, and therefore the freedom of the individual as more important than racial difference or segregation.

Is a similar attitude not held in South Africa? Is "liberalism" not opposed in the name of the Volk and the race here too? When the simple truths of the Bible concerning the dignity of every individual and the primacy of our common humanity over our racial differences are proclaimed against our racial ideology and practice are they not also in our country as in Germany dismissed with the same easy smear-word: "sickly liberalism"?

In his speeches Hitler made many pious references to the Almighty and His providence and called Christianity "the basis of our whole morality". Indeed the official Programme of the National Socialist Party laid down as one of its principles that it would tolerate what it called "positive Christianity". What this meant in effect, however, was toleration for only that pietistic form of Christianity which strictly limited its own sphere of concern to so-called "spiritual" things and ignored sin, injustice and oppression in the political and economic spheres. When some Protestant pastors concerned themselves with such broader issues Hitler told them that their proper concern was heavenly and ecclesiastical matters only and that they must therefore stick to these and leave earthly and political matters to him and the National Socialist Government.

A few days after the publication of the *Message to the People of South Africa* our Prime Minister denounced those who criticize the political *status quo*, as he put it, "under the cloak of religion". He added, "(From) the pulpit which stands in the House of the Lord . . . the Word of God must be proclaimed; from that pulpit we expect the gospel of Christ to be preached to us as sinful men. Men must not abuse the pulpit to try to attain political ends in South Africa."

The result of this attitude on the part of the Government has been the same as in Germany; an increasing clash between State and Church. Hitler, of course, protested that the German churchmen misunderstood him and misinterpreted his intentions: "Peace" – that was all he

wanted – "peace between Church and State!" The Prime Minister in South Africa recently stated: "It has become a fashion in certain circles to talk about a clash between Church and State. The State has never at any time taken action against Churches." Those with longer memories may remember that Dr Malan was reported to have said in 1948: "Churches and societies which undermine the policy of apartheid and propagate doctrines foreign to the nation will be checked." But the point is that just as the National Socialist Government began to take action not against the Churches as a whole but against individual churchmen like Pastor Niemoller, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Paul Schneider, Muller and many others, so our Government is increasingly following the same action of seeking to isolate and persecute individual churchmen. The action is no less antagonistic and no less an attempt to silence them.

In conclusion we would ask: Does the above not demonstrate that in reality the parallels between Nationalist South Africa and National Socialist Germany are not less but in fact rather more than many people have realised?

Africa Bureau Document Paper, April 1972

HALF A CENTURY OF UNDAUNTED STRUGGLE

A Tribute from Vietnam

Giving oneself out for a 'true friend' desirous of helping African countries to develop their economy and technique, the Vorster reactionary authorities in South Africa have recently worked hard in an attempt at establishing 'cooperation and friendship ties' with a number of African countries. They strive to prettify and advertise their Republic of South Africa as a country endowed with a developed economy, a high living standard, as a land where racial groups – white, black and coloured – can 'freely' develop in 'separate areas'. But nobody fails to know that in South Africa, apartheid is the state policy. Under the colonial and apartheid regime of a white minority, South Africa is both characterised as a capitalist country and a colony of exploitation where class and racial contradictions are ever sharpening.

South Africa is moreover a fertile soil of activity and business for collective colonialism. After Great Britain, the U.S.A. runs second among investor-countries in South Africa and its tempo of investment has doubled since 1960. The U.S.A., Great Britain and a number of NATO aggressive bloc countries have been endeavouring to help the Vorster clique consolidate its cruel fascist domination, turning South Africa into a bulwark of neo-colonialism, a base against national liberation movements in the Southern part of Africa and against newly independent African countries.

For over half a century, the South African people have unceasingly struggled against the white minority's colonial and apartheid regime. Throughout the past 50 years, since its foundation (July 30, 1921), the South African Communist Party, together with the African National Congress and many other patriotic organisations, has led the South African people in a persistent struggle to wrest back their sacred national rights. In the years following the second world war, there have broken out many big struggles of masses in many cities, typical of which was the strike of 100,000 miners (1946) against the fascist rulers' apartheid policy, for an improvement of the living standard and the rights to freedom and equality; then came the struggle of the Indians (1946-1950) against the herding of population into areas of 'separate development' or disguised concentration camps.

In an effervescence of masses' struggle, thousands of delegates of patriotic organisations in South Africa, with the Communist Party and the African National Congress as the cores, met in a National Congress and unanimously passed the famous Freedom Charter (1955); this was the programme of struggle of the South African people to abolish the cruel domination of the white colonialists in order to build a democratic South Africa in which all citizens can live in freedom and equality. Over the recent years, the struggle of the South African people has continued to develop under many forms, including armed struggle.

In 1970, the Augmented Central Committee meeting of the South Africa Communist Party was held to put forward various measures of struggle in accordance with the present situation in South Africa. The meeting unanimously adopted a resolution calling on the South Africa people to strengthen their unity and step up their struggle in all forms so as to eradicate the colonial and apartheid regime and to

achieve the basic goals laid down by the Freedom Charter. The resolution also calls on patriotic organisations in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Guinea and Cape Verde, together with the South African people, to enhance their solidarity push ahead their mutual cooperation, and advance to united action in order to do away with the colonial fascist and apartheid regimes in the Southern part of Africa, tools of imperialism, to wrest back independence, freedom and to contribute to the complete liberation of Africa.

The Vietnamese people fully support the patriotic struggle of the South African people. On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the South African Communist Party, the Vietnamese Communists, working class and people convey to the communists, working class and people of South Africa their warmest greetings of militant solidarity. It is our firm belief that, in spite of countless hardships and sacrifices, the South African people will certainly win final victory in their just struggle.

Translated from Nhan Dan, Hanoi, 30 July 1971

Letters to the Editor

MAOIST POLICY

I was glad to see your editorial note (No. 49) on Chinese policy. For a long time we have kept silent about the Maoists and their splitting lines, in the hope that they would realise their mistakes soon enough. But as time goes on, the Maoists expose their revisionist, pseudo-revolutionary, hegemonistic and anti-Soviet platform.

It is disturbing to note how quickly the Maoists drop their pledges and disregard everything that makes a true Marxist-Leninist. One wonders how far the Maoists can go in pursuance of their chauvinistic and vicious anti-Soviet line. Why all this hypocrisy by the Maoists? They hope to make things suit themselves while they continue a policy which is wholly counter-revolutionary and nationalistic. We, the youth, are beginning to wonder whether Mao Tse-tung ever made a systematic study of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. The adventurist drive by the Maoists can achieve nothing but total failure as it deserves, despite the length of time this might take. They have openly revised themselves by claiming to be a member of the third world. That is why they make all sorts of rubbish propaganda firstly against the Soviet Union – the most revolutionary country in the world – as a pretext for their own revisionism, complete lack of principles and misconceptions. Such a hat of shameful and stupid contradictions is what the Maoists wear on their head. The Maoists and their group are of course aware of the harm they are doing. Continuing their policy of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, they openly collaborate with imperialism headed by

United States imperialism – the country they once said was their uncompromising enemy. In doing so they forsake the interests of the international working people – a departure from class positions.

The accusations by the Maoists are groundless and while they are continuing their counter-revolutionary and ultra-revolutionary line, they must think that the whole world is made up of babes, especially the international Communists. According to the Maoists, every party that disagrees with them is revisionist. It is very surprising that the Maoists can change so abruptly with a bluff of being loyal and true revolutionaries. Their words and deeds are utterly contradictory and misleading and can no longer be identified from those of the Trotskyites and the like. It is clear to us that it isn't the interests of the Chinese peoples that the Peking splitters are furthering. That is why the leadership has been turned into a military-bureaucratic dictatorship. However fiercely Maoist anti-Communist propaganda tries to indoctrinate the minds of the Chinese people they are likely to question the legality of Maoism because even the name 'Soviet' is inseparable from Communism and that the Maoists cannot throw away in the rubbish bin.

The Chinese people know that without the Soviet people and Government the revolution would have failed in China. The Chinese people are also grateful for the help given to them by the Soviet Union and the other fraternal Socialist Countries but for reasons of a military-bureaucratic regime, the people have to obey what the rulers say and cannot express their opposition. It is for Maoist nationalism and Chinese big-power policy that the Maoists have militarized the country's economy and force the people into the army with anti-Soviet misinformation – actions that are only advantageous to the imperialists.

In this respect we Communists reaffirm and strongly pledge our loyalty at all times to the C.P.S.U., the Soviet Government and the Soviet State. Nothing in the world can break the unity of the international Communist movement because the people know what is right. We follow the right party and we reject all schemes aimed at disuniting us and poisoning our minds with the revisionist thoughts of Mao Tse-tung.

HAROLD KAMARA

FIFTY FIGHTING YEARS

Last week I received *Fifty Fighting Years* – I thank you very much. I enjoyed reading it. It is an excellent contribution and gives a valuable insight to the glorious revolutionary past. It does justice to the heroic and unwavering stand of the Communists in their struggle against overwhelming odds.

I am particularly impressed by the selection of documents.

Special thanks to comrade Lerumo!

RAY SIMONS

A READER IN GHANA

I would like in the first place to congratulate you for the *great* work you are doing to educate whoever reads *The African Communist.*

Since the coup of 1966 your journals have been hard for one to get in Ghana. The worst period came after the notorious Busia, betrayer of the African Revolution, came to power. Busia's government hated the very word socialism, and even went so far as to advocate a 'dialogue' with South Africa. He got Parliament to forbid any mention of the name of Kwame Nkrumah and the good works he has done.

We have started a Socialist Youth Club and are anxious to get issues of your wonderful *African Communist,* including back issues, for our members. Before the coup in 1966 I was a district organiser of the Ghana Young Pioneers, for which I was arrested and placed under custody. But I will ever live and die a socialist.

Yours for the socialist movement.

JIMMY FERGUSON

DIALOGUE

While commending you on publishing the Dyson-First exchange as an attempt to involve your readers in a discussion of important themes, I was disappointed by Miss First's reply. It tends to close the discussion to those who haven't read her book. Also one regrets her cavalier dismissal of the case for the Leninist theory of non-capitalist development, which surely deserves a new exposition in your columns.

CONSTANT READER

(We plan to publish articles on this theme in our coming issues. Editor)

Jack Woddis

NEW THEORIES of REVOLUTION

A full-scale critical examination of the theories of Frantz Fanon, Regis Debray, and Herbert Marcuse. Their theories have in common a disparagement of the revolutionary role of the working class and the elevation of that of peasants, students or 'lumpen' proletarians.

This polemic is one that faces theories with facts, and makes facts speak for themselves. It surveys in detail recent developments in Africa, and contains a detailed examination of such key events as the Cuban Revolution, the armed struggles in other Latin American countries, and the upheavals in France in May-June 1968.

A book of wide scope and profound relevance to major problems of our time.

415pp *hardback* *£4.50*

full catalogue sent free on request

LAWRENCE & WISHART

46 Bedford Row, London WC1R 4LR

Printed by Interdruck Leipzig

You may get **The African Communist** sent to you post free by becoming a subscriber.

Anywhere in Africa – 20 p (4 shillings) per year (four issues) (airmail – £1. 50).

Europe – 60 p (12 shillings) per year.

America & Canada – $ 2.00 (per year) (airmail $ 5.50).

FREE SAMPLE OFFER

If you would like your friends to receive a free sample copy of **The African Communist**, fill in this form and return it to us.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

.....

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

.....

Inkululeko Publications, 39 Goodge Street, London W 1

A. LERUMO

FIFTY FIGHTING YEARS

The South African Communist Party 1921 – 1971

A stirring account . . . the reader will be politically enriched and exhilarated . . . Fifty Fighting Years is must reading for the student of the world revolutionary process.

Alf Dewhurst in *The Canadian Tribune.*

Lerumo's book is of interest not only to specialists on the liberation movement of South Africa. The struggles of the South African Communists contain valuable lessons beyond the borders of South Africa, indeed of Africa as a whole.

Klaus Brade in *Horizont* (Berlin.)

. . . an exciting book, but also most profound in its analysis and presentation of the struggle . . . . . a book to read and treasure and to return to over and over again for it represents an important political landmark.

Idris Cox in *Morning Star*

Clothbound, illustrated, 226 pages.

£1.25

INKULULEKO PUBLICATIONS

Central Books London; Imported Publications Chicago; Progress Books Toronto.